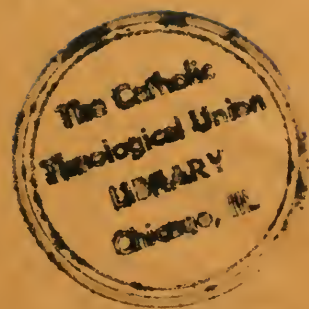








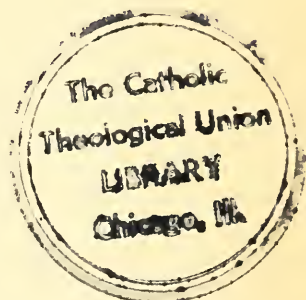
MID-AMERICA

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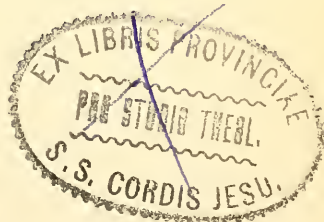
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NUMBER 1

Pedro Nieto, the Ancient Porter

From time to time during the past fifteen years your scribe has resolved to write something about a man who had the audacity to remain sound of mind in this mortal coil for one hundred and thirty-two years. From Anno Domini 1505 to Anno Domini 1637 was a very long time. Mulling over the possibilities of introducing, as biographers customarily do, the background of passing events for this period, left only a sense of awe. The span of 132 years witnessed vast changes in world history. Such serious matters as the conquest and settlement of the Americas, the Protestant Revolt, Elizabethan England, the Spanish Armada, the founding of Jamestown and Quebec, and the Thirty Years War, would be for any biographer large and tempting extraneous morsels, to say nothing of a procession of personages like Emperor Charles V, Henry VIII, Philip II, Elizabeth, Don Juan, Francis Drake, and Richelieu. Despite the presence of such enticements for three hundred years, nothing but a brief obituary has been written about Brother Pedro Nieto who, according to the records, lived so long in holy defiance of all mortality statistics. Nowhere in modern annals is there recorded equal longevity.

The first and only biographer of Brother Pedro Nieto was Father Andrés Pérez de Ribas, renowned in the history of the Jesuits of New Spain as a missionary, an administrator, and an historian.¹ In the manner of an antiquarian handling an ancient and fragile vase, Pérez de Ribas devoted three of the nine hundred and eighty-eight pages in his monumental *Corónica y Historia Religiosa de la Provincia*

¹ Peter Masten Dunne, S.J., *Andrés Pérez de Ribas*, Monograph Series XXV, Edited by John J. Meng, The United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1951, 19, 103; Father Dunne has glowing tributes to Pérez de Ribas as an historian and missionary scattered throughout his work.

de la Compañía de Jesús de México en Nueva España to his brother in religion.² The three pages recount only the big turning points in the life of the venerable porter. In a way they are a monument of simplicity to a man whose life was full of simple activities. Since the brief sketch was written, almost every Jesuit historian concerned with one or other phase of the deeds of his Order in Mexico, has gone out of his way to make mention of the astonishing age of Brother Nieto.

Before presenting a translation of Pérez de Ribas's "Life of Pedro Nieto," it may be well to explain the difference between the fathers in the Company of Jesus and the brothers, since even at a very recent date the failure to distinguish between the two has involved several historians, men of the cloth, in regrettable blunders.³

When the Company of Jesus was constituted a religious Order by Pope Paul III in 1540, its intention was to have no fixed abode.⁴ All of the first nine members led by Ignatius Loyola were priests. Only priests were to be admitted and these were restricted to the number of 60. They were to go to any land, even to the Holy Land, to teach religion to children and the ignorant; they were to care for the sick in the hospitals; they were to preach and administer spiritual aid wherever they were sent. They were to be without purse or financial worries, vowed to perpetual poverty, mendicants who gave their services freely and who depended upon the charity of others for their food, clothing and lodging.

During the following year many applied for admission. A number were not priests but unordained students. Since the latter had to complete their theological studies at a university, it was necessary to have them reside together in a hall known as a *colegio*. In 1541

² For an account of the *Corónica*, published as a private edition at the Sagrada Corazón Press in Mexico City in 1896 and in its unpublished forms, see Jerome V. Jacobsen, "The Chronicle of Pérez de Ribas," *MID-AMERICA*, IX (April, 1938), 81-95. The three pages in the *Corónica* are Vol. II, 430-433; a large part of p. 432 is omitted from the manuscript copy in the Newberry Library.

³ Reference is here made to articles and reviews appearing in Catholic journals and periodicals, discussed in Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Attempted Mayhem on Père Marquette," *MID-AMERICA*, XX (April, 1949), 109-115, and "Marquette's Ordination," *Ibid.*, XXI (January, 1950), 46-54. It is rather common to see the Jesuits referred to erroneously as monks, friars, frays and fras.

⁴ *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, Vol. 63, *Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series Tertia, *Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*, Tomus Primus, Rome, 1934, 24-32, has the Bulla Prima Pauli III, "Regimini militantis Ecclesiae," instituting and confirming the Society of Jesus "with a restriction of the number to sixty professed." The names of the members and their purpose are stated.

the permission to occupy such "colleges" was written into the first formal draft of the Jesuit constitutions, but the halls had to be rent free, and the food, lodging and clothing of the Jesuit students had to be obtained in the form of alms.⁵ The rules for the daily routine of study and prayer were gradually evolved.⁶ Any student applying for admission was put through three tests, each lasting a month. One was to teach children the catechism; another was to serve the sick in the hospitals; the last was to make a journey of one month through the country-side, begging his way from door to door. When these trials of health and virtue were passed successfully, a year of novitiate followed before the candidate was permitted to pronounce the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The vows were perpetual.

After studies and after ordination a fourth vow was to be taken by those who had proved themselves outstanding in virtue, in health, and in learning. This vow was to preserve intact the spirit of poverty, that is, to relinquish all actual or possible ownership of material possessions. All services and labors were to be given freely. Taking this vow constituted the profession, and those so bound were the professed fathers.

A scant two years experience brought up problems for the new Order. There was an increasing demand for its services and the manpower shortage became more and more acute. What should be done about eager and virtuous young men who in their studies had shown some deficiency with respect to the health or learning qualifications? The same question was moving in from another direction. Could some of those who had been admitted as priests, or who were priests asking admission, but had not the qualifications to become professed, be taken into the Order as auxiliaries? By 1546, with papal permission, the question was resolved.⁷ Such students and such fathers could be admitted as helpers. They were to be called spiritual coadjutors and were not to take the additional vow making them professed fathers. So also the young men in the colleges who

⁵ *Ibid.*, 49-60.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Volumen 4, *Regulae Societatis Jesu* (1540-1556), ed. Dionysius Fernández Zapico, Rome, 1948, 1, mentions that in 1540 four students entered the Society in Rome and were given some rules of life, and p. 15, the rules for the students at Coimbra began to be codified in 1541 and 1542 for universal use in the *colegios*; in 1546 the "Constitutiones de la Compañía," were formally drawn, for which see *ibid.*, Tomus Primus, 175-178.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Tomus Primus, 170-173 for the Papal Brief of Paul III, of 1546, "Exponi nobis," and Tomus Secundus, 12-13, for the first draft (in Spanish) of the rules by which spiritual and temporal coadjutors were to be admitted.

had not qualified for the profession were to be placed in the same category. Professed and non-professed all were to live the same life and were equally Jesuits. Besides, the restriction of membership to sixty fathers was removed.

With the increase of numbers, *colegios*, and houses, other difficulties arose. Someone had to take care of the cooking, the buying, and the other domestic details, to allow full time to the fathers for the exercise of their spiritual duties. Could men who did not wish to become priests enter the Order and perform the duties of laymen? The older religious Orders had such members. Ignatius Loyola petitioned Pope Paul III for what was a necessary implementation of the approved constitution of the Society, the addition of laymen coadjutors. The permission was granted to admit men to take charge of the temporal affairs, who were termed temporal coadjutors, or, lay brothers.⁸ These were to be Jesuits, but of another grade, who would take the three vows of the spiritual coadjutors and share the same life and rules as the fathers. They were not, however, to continue or begin theological or other studies.

Once the provision to include lay brothers became official, applications for admission to the Jesuit houses were numerous. Recruits were drawn from the domestics employed in the few residences and *colegios* then existing, and the body collegiate yielded some young men who wished to lead a religious life but did not wish to become priests. They were generally given a postulancy of six months, which included tests of their religious vocation. The superior had first to scrutinize the applicant's past activities to make certain that no homicide, renegade, heretic, schismatic, public sinner, slave, or husband (henpecked or otherwise) entered the ranks of the elect. When the superior was convinced that the postulant was sufficiently virtuous, obedient, respectable in appearance, and endowed especially with a spirit of humility, and when neither bad health nor age would prevent him from working, the postulant became a novice coadjutor for one year before taking his religious vows. Each year for ten years the brother repeated his vows. After ten years he became a formed coadjutor, and became known as an "old brother."

The institution of temporal coadjutors proved an enormous boon to the *compañeros* of Ignatius Loyola. The first lay brothers were

⁸ *Ibid.* The rules for their admission are given in this same second volume of the *Monumenta Ignatiana*, 96-99, 102, 104; their qualifications and occupations are indicated on pages 153, 278, 280, 286.

assigned to care for the immediate needs of the residences. They became sacristans, infirmarians, and porters. Each of these offices was performed according to rules. The porter was a receptionist for visitors, a "chaperon," a guardian of the door, a dispenser of alms, and an instructor of children in religion. Other occupations fell to them as their number increased. They became cooks, launderers, barbers, refectorians, gardeners, and carpenters. When farms were donated to the Society for the support of the houses and colleges, brothers were farmers and herdsmen, millers and vintagers. Among them can be found representatives of all of the arts and crafts. Painters and sculptors who beautified the many Jesuit churches, architects who designed them, musicians who played in them. They were wood carvers, cabinet and furniture makers, leather toolers, mechanics, tailors, cobblers, dyers, printers. Some were writers of spiritual works, some were secretaries, amanuenses, accountants, buyers, and bursars.

All in all, they constituted as vast endowment of services as the labor and management of the Order. If a Jesuit college had been forced to pay wages to an average body of workmen, a cook, porter, waiter, carpenter, launderer, tailor, sweeper, it could not long have survived the cost. Obviously, the amount of such hire at present would be in total thousands of dollars annually. If a lay brother served as porter for forty years, his contribution in service was clearly noteworthy. Multiply this by the thousand of brothers who have for four hundred years been occupied as porters and the magnitude of the donation becomes apparent. Yet this is only one of the many services forming the vast endowment. Nor can anyone estimate the sums of money saved by the thrift of the brothers, by their careful management, and by the absence of employee turnover, commonly large items in the debit column of industry.

These lay brothers were throughout the history of the Society the sturdy and hidden men behind the scene, who, as in any project, are the unsung fashioners of success. It was early decided that the fathers would lose valuable time and energy if they undertook domestic duties. The brothers salvaged precious time for the many writers, professors, scientists, orators, and missionaries. Besides, especially in the mission field, they were active in the instruction of the natives, not only in the Christian doctrine but especially in the arts and crafts with which they were familiar. In these respects they definitely aided in the transmission of European culture to the colonial lands. Little wonder then, that these humble companions

are spoken about with kindness and respect in the writings on missionary history.

The first Jesuit lay brother in the New World was Brother Simão Gonçalves. He was also the first one to be received into the Society of Jesus in either of the Americas.⁹ One of the soldiers with the expedition of Governor Tomé de Sousa, which, on March 29, 1549, landed Father Manuel de Nóbrega and his five Jesuit companions at Baía, Brazil, Gonçalves was admitted by Nóbrega on August 9 of the same year. Soon he was teaching the children of the new city their religion and the alphabet, among the very first of the Jesuits to do so in the New World. He served as a companion to the fathers in their missionary work in Baía, Pôrto Seguro, Espírito Santo, and São Paulo for about fifteen years before his death.

The first of the lay brothers to arrive in North America was Francisco Villarreal, who was with Father Juan Rogel in Havana and Florida from 1566 to 1572.¹⁰ When the Jesuits gave up Florida, Villarreal was among the first Jesuit lay brothers on the Mexican scene. There he learned the Mexican languages and for years was in charge of the natives living in the Colegio de San Gregorio in Mexico City. Later he became procurator, as the buyer and produce seller was known, at the Jesuit novitiate in Tepotzotlán. He died in 1600 after forty years of service.¹¹

Father Pérez de Ribas devotes many pages to the lives of the brothers in his long work. Unfortunately, he did not include much data about their occupations, but, as might be expected in such edifying obituaries, used the brothers as illustrations for discussions of the virtues. When time came for publication of the *Corónica* the printer dropped a number of these *vidas*, but he published enough of them to make these hard-working, realistic, thoroughly human and genial men seem like heavenly factotums, lost in thoughts of the world to come. Many used aches and pains, fasting and penance, and patience and charity unto their sanctification. Others hid their virtues in many tasks throughout the day. But we would much like to hear more about the practical work of a Brother Alonzo López "called Mease López," medic, chirurgé, and hospital founder, who,

⁹ Serafim Leite, S.I., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, Lisboa e Rio de Janeiro, 1938, I, 573. Two novices arrived in Baía with Nóbrega—Vicente Rodrigues and Diogo Jácome; they were sent to become lay brothers, but owing to the scarcity of priests they were ordained; *Ibid.*, II, 445.

¹⁰ Rosemary Ring Griffin, "Rogel, Padre of the Ports," *MID-AMERICA*, XIX (January, 1949), 19–24.

¹¹ Pérez de Ribas, *Corónica*, II, 381–395.

after becoming a lay brother, established possibly the first of America's out-patient clinics in his porter's lodge in the Colegio Máximo.¹² So too, we could have more about Brother Juan López de Arvaiza, the architect of the two large Jesuit churches in Mexico City and Puebla, who died at the age of thirty-eight.¹³ Another was the jovial Brother Bartolomé Ruiz whose excessive poundage got him destined to be a procurator and whose office was for the most part a "one hoss shay."¹⁴ If for nothing else, we should have an account of the brother who had the humor to use the smiling and impish children of the neighborhood as models for the cherubs carved and gilded above the altars of the beautiful Jesuit church of Tepotzotlán.

The coadjutor brothers just named were contemporaries of the ancient Pedro Nieto. Very likely they were well known to him. Probably not known to him at all was a Spanish contemporary, also a Jesuit brother tending the door, who became the patron saint of the lay brothers. This was Alonso Rodríguez, known now as St. Alphonsus Rodríguez. Born in Segovia on July 25, 1532, he married, but some years after the death of his wife, entered the Society of Jesus in early 1571. He was sent to the Jesuit college in Majorca, there to be porter for forty-six years before his death in 1617. Pedro Nieto, from the following account of Pérez de Ribas, would have been twenty-seven years old at the time of St. Alphonsus's birth, and one hundred and twenty years old at his death. For his private patron Pedro Nieto took St. Alexis, a patrician of early Roman times. Alexis for some quaint reason fled from his bride immediately after the wedding ceremony. He returned to Rome betimes, in rags, and resided, unknown to all and sundry Romans, under the front stairs of his father's house, engaged in the various pursuits which go into the making of a holy life. There has appeared no record of the future of the bride of Alexis.

Here, then, is the *vida* of Pedro Nieto, translated from Ribas.

LIFE OF BROTHER PEDRO NIETO, TEMPORAL COADJUTOR
OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS, WHO DIED AT
THE AGE OF 132, AND LEFT GREAT
EXAMPLES OF VIRTUE

Just as this servant of God was singular and rare in the number of years which he lived, so also was he very unusual in the virtues

¹² *Ibid.*, 399

¹³ *Ibid.*, 405.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 410.

which he exercised through the years that he lived in Religion as a pattern of virtue. And since we are commencing with the first years of such a prolonged and ancient life, we may say that Pedro Nieto was born in a hamlet in the Principate of the Asturias in the Kingdom of Spain. In his boyhood he was spending his time tilling the soil on a farm, when, on the arrival of the news in his land that Fernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle, had conquered the Kingdom of New Spain, the spirit of this vigorous lad was so inspired by the news, that, with the permission of his father, he resolved to give up farming and join the militia in the Indies which had been discovered and conquered. When he was leaving he received the blessing of his father, who, as though divining the many years that his son would live, told him that he should know and keep in mind that he had been born in the year 200, and in this fashion the good brother used to declare his age. And according to the accounts of his voyages, which he gave at various times, he was born in the year 1505.

He left his native land for Seville and found that there was being organized an Armada for Florida, whose General was the adelantado Pedro Meléndez [Menéndez de Avilés]. He enlisted as a soldier, embarked, and arrived at some Islands near Florida. The adelantado gave orders that Pedro Nieto with some other soldiers should go in a skiff to explore what land or place they might find, and they obeyed. But while they were sailing there struck a tempest so great that the skiff foundered and sank with some of the men. Only three or four, Pedro Nieto among them, started to swim to the shore of one of those islands.

After three days of suffering from hunger and nakedness, at night one of them ventured the thought that it would be well to cast lots between himself and his companions and eat one so that the others might be saved. But the self-possessed Pedro Nieto replied that this would be despairing of God; he added that, although they should lose bodily life on that uninhabited island, they should not give up the life of the soul; and lest there arise an occasion whereby they should come to this violence, they should separate one from another to places where they could not see each other. And so they carried out the separation amicably; turning their backs each followed his own path. In that which Pedro Nieto took he found a palm, by whose leaves and sap he sustained himself as best he could in his extreme necessity. In this situation the General Pedro Meléndez fearing that the detention of these soldiers would delay his sailing, sent others in a shallop, and God willed that these should arrive

at the island where the first had been shipwrecked. With smoke signals they managed to announce their arrival to those who were awaiting death on the island. They recognized the signal and all came to the shore. They found those who came in quest of them and, with what feasting and happiness they could permit, saved their lives and embarked for their Armada. After his entrance into the Company of Jesus, Brother Pedro Nieto attributed the mercies, which he ever received from our Lord during his very prolonged life, to this action and to this highly Christian counsel given to his companions.

He continued his voyage and having served some years in the militia and war in Florida, later embarked for this New Spain. As his intentions had been to labor and by this means to seek his temporal profit (though God drew him to seek spiritual profit for his soul), he came to apply for work at one of the haciendas of our College of Mexico, where he agreed to serve at a salary. Here it happened that one of the herdsman had fled, and the Brother in charge of the hacienda told Pedro Nieto to go in search of him. He went, found the man, and while bringing him through a large swamp which is in the place, the shepherd escaped; to reprimand him, he threatened him with the halter, and on overtaking him, very much beyond his intention, hit one of his eyes with the halter and ruptured the eye. So great was the grief and repentance of Pedro Nieto over the harm which he had done to his neighbor (though involuntarily) that to make satisfaction for it he determined to enter the Company and give up the world and his own liberty.

On making application he was admitted by the Father Doctor Juan de la Plaza in the year 1583. Even though at this time he was very old, the matter was overlooked, because, while he appeared old and withered, his health was sound. Having undergone his novitiate laudably, he returned by order of obedience to the same *estancia*, where he lived many years caring for the hacienda with notable religious diligence; having the meekness and simplicity of a dove, he was loved and esteemed by all. With the passage of time he was found to be tired and too old for the work of the farm and was called in to Mexico to the College Seminary of San Ildefonso,¹⁵ where the greater part of the youth of this kingdom are trained in

¹⁵ In 1605 or 1606. The catalogue of the Mexican Province for 1604 has him assigned to the Colegio Máximo but working on one of the farms; the next catalogue, that of 1607, has him at San Ildefonso, in mediocre health.

virtue and letters. They gave him the office of porter and for his lodge a very narrow room under the stairs, which he accepted with so great contentment that with placid countenance he said: "Here under these stairs I must live the life of Saint Alexis." He carried out his words so well that he lived in this narrow space for almost thirty years, notably loved and respected by the collegians, who venerated him for his extreme calmness and for the edification and holiness of his life.

In this occupation he gave singular evidence of charity toward the poor. He found so many ways in his porter's lodge, that some days he gave alms to 300 poor people, and so that he would have more abundance out of which to give, he went around with a basket to the rooms of the collegians, gathering pieces of bread which they had left and with his good industry collecting other alms of some worth, with which he went to the aid of the shamefaced poor. In his person holy poverty shone forth, always seeking the worst and the oldest things in the house, and when because of his aches he had need of something or other, he always asked the price of it, and if it seemed too costly he would say with humility that it was not necessary, that he could get along without it; in spite of this cost the superiors cared for him with a charity owing to one who had worked so many years in religion. He was very grateful for anything done for him and held all in great reverence, especially superiors and priests. He guarded carefully the purity of his soul and whatever defect he found, small though it was, caused him to weep with notable sorrow.

He was very observant in guarding the rules and even though the last years found him with great pains and in bed without power to rise, he obeyed the rules as far as possible in his room, asking that he be given light to follow above all the holy exercises of prayer. And while those in the house were reciting the Litany, he joined them in spirit, saying it in great simplicity and goodness. He had an enviable devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, visiting the chapel very frequently; when he was up and about, he received Communion always on Sundays and all Thursdays of the year, experiencing the admirable effects of this frequent reception in his spirit. He loved the Most Holy Virgin with great tenderness, never denying anything that was asked in her name. In vocal prayer he said many rosaries a day, gaining indulgences for the Souls in Purgatory with the Holy Saturday prayer repeated many times. Asked one time how many souls he had saved he answered 60; and according to his devotion

and goodness, there were without doubt many that rejoiced in his suffrages.

I visited him many times during the prolonged period when he was in bed, since I lived at the time in the college, and I always found the same happy and calm face, conformed to the will of God, and above all such humility and contentment with his lot (though he would never give any particulars of his infirmity nor admit it) that he never complained of anything wanting to him. And while through such a long period of infirmity and in his bedridden state there was bound to be some lack of care (through no fault of those about), still whenever they asked him how he was, he rendered thanks for the charity shown him and said that he needed nothing.

This invariable calmness of this most ancient man, joined with the sincerity of his soul (which was dovelike) so appealed to our student brothers that they felt particular joy when they were allowed to spend the hour of recreation after dinner in his room. However, during the rest of the day he never lacked company, having it continually with God, entertaining himself with his devotions and prayers. In these he exercised himself much of the time repeating some devotional couplets which he had written in his own style and had suspended on the wall in front of his bed on each side of a paper picture of the Child Jesus. This scene, this memento and presence were his whole entertainment, and it was a fact astonishing to me that at the age of 130, as we have said, and at a good distance from the picture and his couplets, he had sufficiently sound and lively vision to see one or the other. To this it may be added that he had so rare a memory that if one of the student brothers, to amuse himself, should refer to his couplets and change one word of them, even to give them a better sound, immediately he recognized the change and corrected and amended the word, did the holy old man.

With these interests and unvarying examples of virtue our Brother Pedro Nieto arrived at 132 years of life, filled with merits by the exercise of so many virtues, which he exercised especially during the years lived without complaint in the Company; finally, he crowned these very religious virtues with a most joyful patience and conformity to the will of God in the three last years, when he was paralyzed and tended to in a poor room without power to move. And whenever we of the house visited the room we found an appearance of happiness from a soul that lived in the company of God; and with truth it could be said that these three years he spent in prayer, because he did not need visitors in the least and was content in his

solitude. Gradually the warmth of life and natural forces grew weak and the subject became feeble as he arrived at the final stage of his life. He kept his judgment until he expired, and having received the Holy Sacraments with much devotion and peace of soul, Our Lord took him, leaving many pledges that in the company of His great servants he went to enjoy Heaven. He died in the year 1637, and is interred in our College of Mexico, where the bodies of so many servants are laid until the last resurrection.

* * * *

Thus far the words of Pérez de Ribas. Now, we have no doubt that the brother was a holy man. Since the father historian was and has remained a man of repute and since he was well acquainted with the interior decorations of Brother Pedro's soul, we must accede to the authority of his eyewitness account in regard to the spiritual ripeness of the ancient porter. Obviously, however, the historian, who did not know Brother Pedro before 1609, gathered all of the pertinent biographical data from his biographee, either directly or through others to whom the brother had mentioned the high points of his life. Moreover, Pérez de Ribas apparently tried, as an historian would, to solve the problem of the aged one by inspecting one or other of the catalogues, not of the Mexican Province, but of the College, where he found the age to be 132. Any of the perpetrators of Pérez de Ribas's error, if interested in checking the age, very likely made the same mistake of choosing that particular catalogue. The dozing of the father historian has been notably contagious and it should stop here and now.

In the first paragraph of the *vida* there are two suspicious clues and one red herring. First the news of Hernán Cortés's conquest of Mexico reached Nieto's town when he was still a boy. Secondly, when he was still a boy, he joined Menéndez's militia for Florida. The years between these two events, one in 1521 and the other in 1565, are rather numerous. Forty-four years is a long boyhood or youth. (And what shall we say about the sudden aging of his father between the time of the arrival of the news and the parting blessing?) Let us not quibble about the time required for the news of the fall of the Aztecs to reach the far away Asturias, nor argue that the conquest was still going on in 1542, nor that Pedro Menéndez made his first trip to the New World in 1560. Even considering these possible dates, eighteen years beyond boyhood is a long time to re-

main classified as a youth. Evidently it was a long time after the Cortés affair when Pedro left the farm for Seville.

The red herring appears in the statement of Pedro's father, which Pedro seems to have repeated whenever he was asked about the date of his birth, namely, that Pedro was born "in the year 200." Taken at its face value the statement is either ridiculous or a humorous profession of ignorance of his birthday. What could have happened is this. The Asturian farmer in parting with his son told Pedro that he would surely be asked his age and that whenever he was asked he should answer: I was born in the year of *two zeros*, meaning 1500 rather than 200. And this interpretation would bring Pedro to death's door at the more astounding age of 137 rather than 132. More plausibly, Pedro's invariable response meant that neither he nor his father knew the date of his birth. Perhaps Pérez de Ribas was being twitted by the brother, or perhaps he was enlivening his *vida* with some humor. Perhaps it was Pedro's father who was born in the year ending in two zeros.

Here the matter might well have rested had not the thought of aid from the archives at Seville and Rome intruded itself. Since a trip to the Archivo General de Indias of Seville and to the Jesuit Archives was out of the question, the writer found two capable scholars ready to come to his aid. One, Francisco Xavier Mencos of the Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, has been directing much of his research to a study of the Catalogues of Passengers to the Indies. The other helper is Father Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., who has for several years been engaged in research on the Jesuit writers of New Spain in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus.

Dr. Mencos found his search through the Catálogos de Pasajeros a Indias quite profitable as regards Pedro Nieto. Four Pedro Nietos left Spain for America between the years 1500 and 1560, and possibly others left, without being named, in the entourage of some person of note or some official. These are the four:

On October 20, 1510, Pedro Nieto, son of Diego Nieto and Maria González, native of Las Fuencalades, suburb of the town of Arévalo.

On September 1, 1512, Pedro Nieto, son of Pedro Nieto and Teresa Rodríguez, natives of San Pedro Castañedo.

On February 5, 1537, Pedro Nieto, son of Antón Nieto and Maria Hernández, natives of Placencia.

On October 13, 1538, Pedro Nieto, son of Jorge Nieto, Contador

del Rey, and Ana Paz, native of Ledesma. Sailed to America in the Armada of Don Pedro de Alvarado.

Three of the four must be eliminated because they were not from the region said to be the birthplace of Brother Pedro Nieto, the Diocese of Oviedo in the Principate of the Asturias. The first sailor of 1510 was from the Province of Avila; the third, sailing in 1537, was from Placencia, west of Madrid; the fourth was from Ledesma, near Salamanca, and was the son of a Spanish official. The second named could well have been Brother Nieto, since he came from the Kingdom (at that time) of the Asturias, from the area of Oviedo, and from San Pedro Castañedo, a hamlet across the bay from Santander. But he could not have heard of Cortés or Mexico ten years before the conquest. The conclusion is that none of the listed passengers to America between 1500 and 1560 meet with the specifications for Brother Pedro Nieto. There is one small possibility of his early sailing. He may not have sailed as a passenger but as one of the militia, who were not listed as men leaving Spain for the Americas.

Like Dr. Mencos, Father Burrus was willing to take time out from his own research to scan the *Catálogos de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, more simply known as the Mexican Province, founded in 1572. Nietos bloomed too abundantly in these lists. Six were lay brothers and two were priests. Most fortunately, there was only one Pedro among the eight Nietos. All of the entries of Brother Pedro Nieto are from the manuscript folios marked Col. Mex. 4. The year is given at the head of the page. Beside each name in separate columns are given the place of birth, the age, the time of entry into the Society, the date of the first vows, the date of the profession, and the house or college in which each was residing in that year.

The catalogue of 1585 practically solves the problem of the brother's age in a larger way. It records: "Brother Pedro Nieto, born at Çumiedo in the Diocese of Oviedo. Age 37. Of mediocre health. Entered in 1583; pronounced his simple vows in 1585; coadjutor. Aids on the estancia of Santa Lucia." From this Brother Nieto was thirty-five years old when he entered as a postulant and was thirty-seven when he pronounced his vows. Accordingly, he was born in 1548, died in 1637, and was in his eighty-ninth year. He had lived fifty-four years as a Jesuit. He sailed with the Menéndez expedition of 1565 at the age of seventeen, not at the age of sixty.

This solution supposes that in 1583 Brother Nieto knew his age to be thirty-five, which exact knowledge we may doubt. He was

about thirty-five, or, in the customary Spanish way of saying it: Thirty-five, *más o menos*. The "more or less" generally would mean more, and in his particular case probably did mean more, since he was supposed by Ribas to be too old to work and was admitted under special permission of a *visitador*, Father Plaza. Very likely, not old age but illness was the drawback. Consequently, it may be said that he was thirty-five to thirty-eight in 1583, and correspondingly eighty-nine, *más o menos*, at his death.

The cataloguers who played hob with Brother Pedro's longevity by stretching his years in the Society from fifty-four to eighty-seven, afford an ample illustration of the "more or less" manner of estimating time and distance. This instance is by no means to be taken as a general habit; rather Pedro Nieto's case is a rarity among the Jesuit record keepers. These latter probably guessed at his age, probably asked him from time to time only to receive the vague "born in 200" response. Whatever the method, the results are amusing. Following the catalogues that are extant from 1585 to 1638 when his name no longer appears, we find the following types of arithmetic in the aging process:

In 1585, Pedro Nieto is thirty-seven.

In 1592, he is forty-seven, aging ten years in seven.

In 1595, he is fifty-three, aging six years in three.

In 1600, he is fifty-seven, somehow losing a year.

In 1604, he is sixty-five, aging eight years in four.

In 1607, he is sixty-eight, nothing gained.

In 1614, he is eighty-two, aging fourteen years in seven.

In 1620, he is eighty-eight, nothing gained.

In 1626, he is one hundred, aging twelve years in six.

In 1632, he is 115, aging fifteen years in six.

Not to be outdone by the cataloguers, someone made him age seventeen years in the five years between 1632 and 1637. Thus, he was credited with a total of forty-three years of service, beyond the fifty-four years which he actually lived in the Society of Jesus.

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The Inland Customhouse at Córdoba

The adventurous days of the *conquistadores* slowly faded away as the Spanish colonial system became adjusted to the major problem of extracting the wealth of the Indies. The closed port system, as established, insured to the crown a steady flow of the royal fifth and to the merchants of Cadiz and Seville a profitable return from the expanding American market. The mines of Potosí were a focal point of their interest, for the silver of Peru by 1593 was adding almost a million pesos a year to the royal coffers.¹ Yet the system for the conveyance of the Peruvian silver imposed an undue hardship that could have been avoided. From Potosí the silver was carried over the Andes to Arica, shipped to Callao, reshipped to Panamá, carried overland to Portobelo, there to be reshipped to Spain. This was a costly, time-consuming, risky procedure. It was a high price to pay for a system which reflected the exploratory pattern of the *conquistadores* rather than the most efficient route available. Paid it was nonetheless, and the course of Empire moved on, while the Council of the Indies failed to develop the easier, faster, and possibly safer route either south from Potosí through Córdoba to the Río de la Plata or down the Pilcomayo and the Paraná Rivers to Buenos Aires and the Río de la Plata, thence across the Atlantic to Spain. The cost of this failure has not been and probably never will be accurately estimated, for ignoring the southern route could not obliterate its existence and merely made of it a temptation to violate the law.

It is one of the curious fates of history that the Platine river system did not become the legal, established passage-way to Spain. The Atlantic approach to the riches of Peru, the search for the "Empire of the White King," had been made by Alejo García and Sebastian Cabot at the same time that Francisco Pizarro was moving from Panamá, yet it was Pizarro upon whom fortune smiled and it was he who received the patent for the exploration and conquest of the Incas by way of Panamá. The fabulous success of Pizarro did not,

¹ Clarence Haring, *Trade and Navigation Between Spain and the Indies*, Cambridge, Mass., 1918, 334. Also see Earl J. Hamilton, "Imports of American Gold and Silver into Spain, 1503-1660," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XLIII (May, 1929), 465.

however, immediately stifle the search for the "Empire of the White King," for with the imperfect geographic knowledge of the day the relation of this mystery to the true Inca empire was not clear. However, the eventual failure of Pedro de Mendoza and his successors to find another golden empire brought dire results to the Platine basin, as the area came to be considered a barren outpost of the empire, a security point against the possible encroachment of the Portuguese.

Through four decades, after Buenos Aires was abandoned in 1541 and Asunción became the center of Platine security, the area languished in poverty and oblivion while Lima and Potosí expanded in wealth and legend. Yet, in spite of the overbearing fame of Peru, the commercial potential of the Platine was not forgotten by the inhabitants of Charcas, Tucumán, Chile, and Paraguay. Indeed, the excessive prices these people of the interior paid for the goods which they received by way of Panamá continually stimulated the search for a cheaper route, and their eyes could not fail to focus on the usefulness of the Río de la Plata. During the 1550's and 1560's the crown received many petitions from the people of the hinterlands asking that the Río de la Plata be opened to commerce. The major emphasis in the requests was placed on the need to alleviate the high cost of imported goods. Of minor consideration was the usage of the river system as a means of returning the silver of Potosí to Spain. In 1569, Philip II agreed to the refoundation of Buenos Aires, granting license for two ships a year to break off from the *Flota* and *Galleones* at the Canary Islands and proceed to the Río de la Plata with the desired merchandise.² Nowhere, however, is it apparent that the traditional system of handling silver from Potosí was to be tampered with, and it is probable that the only thought inherent in the royal order was that goods from Spain were to be exchanged for the agricultural and grazing products of the hinterland. On this basis Buenos Aires was refounded in 1580 by Juan de Garay.

The re-establishment of Buenos Aires did not automatically develop a regular pattern of trade to the Plata, for Spain took no positive action to divert the required portion of the carrying trade of the *Flota* and *Galleones*, leaving the initiative of the development of

² *Archivo Colonial, Museo Mitre*, Buenos Aires, 1914, II, 347-356, Capitulations made to Adelantado Juan Ortiz de Zárate, Madrid, 1569. Further investigation of the use of the Pilcomayo River was ordered by a Royal Cedula of December 10, 1573, to the Audiencia of Charcas. Manuel Gondra Collection, University of Texas, Doc. # 1952a.

commerce completely in local hands. As the litoral was sparsely populated, the hinterland thereupon assumed the burden. The first few years of commerce are unrecorded, but by 1585, at the instigation of the Bishop of Tucumán, Francisco de Vitoria, came the first voyage of record, dominated by religious as well as commercial motives.³ This venture had for its destination São Vicente and Bahia in Brazil, a most important feature inasmuch as the commerce of the future years was to remain oriented in this direction in spite of the protests and legislation of Spain.

While commerce with Brazil at this time had been termed illegal, and perhaps was so from the point of view of Madrid, Vitoria and others considered that the joining of the Spanish-Portuguese crowns in 1580 had broken this barrier and they saw no reason for not trading there.⁴ As a result the Brazilian trade grew spectacularly within the decade, reaching sufficient proportions to gain the attention of the crown by 1594. At that time, only fourteen years after the opening of the port, a blanket prohibition was placed against the Brazilian trade, except in ships which passed through Seville.⁵ A further prohibition came two years later, when, in order to make clear to all the status of the Portuguese under the dual monarchy, the Portuguese were formally declared to be foreigners excluded from the trade of the Indies.⁶ In spite of these laws, the Brazilian-Platine trade continued to grow, turning more and more to the illegal in the face of outright prohibitory legislation.

In part to remedy, in response to many hardship petitions emanating from Buenos Aires, as well as to try to prevent the occasion of dealing with foreigners who would tempt them with low cost goods, the citizens of Buenos Aires were allowed in 1602 to trade in limited quantity with Brazil, Guinea, and other adjacent territories provided they consumed the goods and did not re-export them to other parts of the Indies.⁷ This policy, which was repeated in different forms over the ensuing decade was bound to fail, even when administered by a strong, determined governor such as Hernandarias

³ The relation of this voyage may be found in Pablo Pastells, *História de Companhia de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay*, Madrid, 1912, I, 31-45. Also, *Annaes Do Museu Paulista*, São Paulo, 1922, I, p. 2, 138-143.

⁴ Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, Lisboa, Rio de Janeiro, 1938, I, 344.

⁵ *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, Madrid, 1841, Libro IX, Título XVIII, Ley V. Cited hereafter as *Recopilación*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Lib. IX, Tit. XXVII, Ley XXVIII.

⁷ *Archivo de la Nación Argentina Época Colonial, Reales Cédulas y Provisiones, 1517-1662*, Buenos Aires, 1911, 52.

de Saavedra, for the Portuguese trading element had become well entrenched in Buenos Aires in the first twenty years after the re-establishment of the city. This group had developed its trading pattern with Brazil as well as with the hinterland of the Platine area. It knew the great profits to be made in selling goods in Upper Peru, and it would not be denied the continuance of a large trade even though it was illegal. Spain was cognizant of this situation and ordered the ousting of the Portuguese from Buenos Aires in laws of 1601, 1602, and 1606, none of which were enforced.⁸

The first twenty years of the seventeenth century in Buenos Aires represent an era of lawlessness possibly without parallel in Spanish colonial history. The city lived under the domination of Spanish and Portuguese traders who paid little attention to any statutes of the existing code. In spite of severe restrictions trading to the north was done as far as Potosí, the silver of that area being returned through Buenos Aires to Brazil, from where the precious metals moved not to the Iberian peninsula, but to northern Europe. In regard to this movement of silver outside the empire, Governor Rodríguez de Váldez (1599-1602), detained in Bahia on his way to his post in Buenos Aires wrote:

. . . I have learned the truth in the five months that I was detained in Brazil, and that is that none of the silver which comes from there [the Río de la Plata] goes to Spain, and if any goes to Lisbon it is very little because it all goes to Flanders and England . . . I conjecture that from Brazil there has gone out through there in four years more than a million and a half pesos, and when I arrived a caravel had gone out with more than 150,000 pesos. . .⁹

The *residencias* on the administrations of Governors Diego Marín Negrón (1608-1613) and Diego de Góngora (1618-1623) indicate a status of virtual free trade in Buenos Aires, while the two administrations of Hernandarias de Saavedra (1602-1608, 1613-1618) demonstrate his inability to control the forces around him.¹⁰ The

⁸ For the order of April 6, 1601, see Gondra MS # 1482; for the orders of October 17, 1602 and October 28, 1606, see *Archivo de la Nación Argentina*, 53, 70.

⁹ *Anuario de Historia Argentina*, Buenos Aires, III, 1941, 512, the Relation of Governor Rodríguez de Váldez, May 20, 1599. Also Gondra MS # 1812c.

¹⁰ For Governors Negrón and Saavedra, see Manuel V. Figuerero y Enrique de Gandía, "Hernandarias de Saavedra," *Historia de la Nación Argentina*, Buenos Aires, 1939, III, 446-448. For a detailed picture of Governor Saavedra's troubles, see Raul Molina, *Hernandarias*, Buenos Aires, 1948, chapters IX-XIII. For Governor Góngora, see Antonio Zinny, *Historia de los Gobernadores de las Provincias Argentinas*, Buenos Aires, 1941, I, 110-112.

official records of imports through this score of years show a spectacular growth in the amount of trade passing through the port,¹¹ while a corresponding decline in the quantity of goods confiscated indicates the laxity of administration.¹² The latter is understandable in view of the fact that the cabildo was in control of the commercial interests during this period.¹³ It has been estimated that silver amounting to a million pesos a year was passing illegally through the port.¹⁴

Spain was aware of conditions in the port city through the descriptive letters received from various law-abiding citizens. Of these the letters of Governor Hernandarias de Saavedra are the most lucid, in that he names the key figures as well as indicts the public officials and justices for their failure to uphold the law. Investigations were made of these reported conditions, as for example, that by Francisco de Alfaro in 1611. Finding the charges valid, Alfaro set forth a series of corrective regulations, but these too were violated with the same derision as the basic law.¹⁵ Faced with the problem of an area where the ordinary law could not be enforced, and wherein her northern enemies were gaining access to the metallic wealth of the Indies, Spain finally took extraordinarily strong action to shut this back door of the empire. On February 7, 1622, from Madrid, Philip IV issued fourteen restrictive laws, designed to stop the contraband of Buenos Aires by blocking access to Upper Peruvian markets on the one hand, and by preventing the movement of silver southward to the port on the other.

The first of the laws ordered the establishment of an *aduana seca*, or inland customs house, at Córdoba in Tucumán Province, where goods which passed into Tucumán and Peru would be taxed fifty percent of their value.¹⁶ This basic restriction was not original in

¹¹ Juan A. García, *La Ciudad Indiana*, Buenos Aires, 5th ed. n.d., 246, gives the following total trade in silver reals:

1586 to 1595	Imports:	1,764,984	Exports:	84,758
1596 to 1605	"	1,411,282	"	753,436
1605 to 1615	"	7,534,123	"	1,151,678
1616 to 1625	"	7,957,579	"	360,904

¹² *Ibid.*, 245, gives the totals of confiscated merchandise as 64,604 silver reals 1596 to 1605; 3,654 from 1606 to 1615; and 5,041,149 from 1616 to 1625.

¹³ This can clearly be seen by checking the names of well known contrabandists against the membership of the cabildos; see *Acuerdos del Extinguido Cabildo de Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, 1907-1934, Libros III and IV.

¹⁴ Hamilton, "Imports of American Gold," *loc. cit.*, 446 n.

¹⁵ Enrique de Gandía, *Francisco de Alfaro y la Condición Social de los Indios*, Buenos Aires, 1939, 207-208.

¹⁶ *Recopilación, Lib. VIII, Tit. XIV, Ley I.*

1622. It had been passed on October 8, 1618, in the reign of Philip III, but was not put into effect.¹⁷ The statute first explains the reason for its passage. It recognizes the need of the citizens of the Platine area to export the products of the land, and points to the permissions which were extended to them for this purpose, but, it continues, ". . . because it has been understood that avoiding these conditions, they have carried goods and merchandise to the districts of Tucumán and Peru, in grave damage to the commerce of Seville . . .," an *aduana seca*, or inland customs house was to be established. The site was chosen because, ". . . it appears that it is necessary to pass the city of Córdoba de Tucumán in order to go to Peru. . ."¹⁸ The agency was to be housed with the cabildo of Córdoba, or if no room was available, a separate house was to be established,¹⁹ where the goods moving northward would pay, ". . . fifty percent of the value in addition to that which had been collected in Seville as well as in the port of Buenos Aires. . ."²⁰ Penalty for violations was to rest principally on the teamster or mule driver carrying the goods, who, if found violating the law, was to receive as punishment, ". . . public shame for the first offense, a whipping and two years in the galleys on the oars without salary for the second."

This law, establishing the *aduana seca* at Córdoba, brought a new institution to the Americas. *Aduanas*²¹ had been known in the New World since at least 1537 and possibly earlier, but there is no indication that their character was anything but fiscal.²² Their task was the collection of the *alcabala*, or excise tax, and the *almojarifazgo*, or export-import taxes. The *aduana seca* founded at Córdoba in

¹⁷ Some confusion arises from this. Reputable authors have mistakenly set this date at 1618. The official record of Buenos Aires, *Acuerdos del Extinguido Cabildo de Buenos Aires*, indicates that the law of 1618 was not promulgated in the Americas.

¹⁸ While this information was probably true at the time the legislation was passed, later information shows that it was by-passed by other roads.

¹⁹ No information appears available on the physical character of the *aduana seca*.

²⁰ This refers to the *averia* or convoy tax as collected at Seville and the *almojarifazgo* or excise tax as collected at Buenos Aires.

²¹ The word *aduana* is not of Spanish origin, but Arabic, coming from the word *adayuan* or book of accounts. *Diccionario Enciclopedico Hispano-Americano*, I, 481.

²² The *Casa de Aduana* was established by law in Peru in 1537. See *Recopilación, Lib. IX, Tit. XXIV, Ley XIX*. Professor Haring, *Trade and Navigation*, 83-84, places the date of the first collections in Seville on goods exported and imported to and from the Americas as 1543, by direction of Charles V. This would establish the first collections on the commerce of the New World in Peru. Haring bases his late date on the exemptions of Ferdinand and Isabella.

1622, following Iberian precedents, was not of a fiscal character but was distinctly regulatory or prohibitive in nature.

The institution of the *aduanas* had had a long background in Spanish history, beginning with the *Portorium Romana* in ancient times, the *diezmos de puertos* during the reconquest, and the *almojarifazgo* of the Arabs. Under the Kings of Castile and Aragon, the *aduanas* taxes became known by two titles: the *puertos secos*, or those of the frontier lands, and the *puertos mojados* or those of the sea.²³ There seems to be evidence that both of these, at least in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had a fiscal character,²⁴ even though the *aduanas seca* (or *puerto seco*, or *aduanas interior*)²⁵ is sometimes defined as having been used in ancient times to strengthen borders, a usage similar to prohibition.²⁶ The *aduanas seca*, or dry (preferably "inland") customs house, seems to have taken on its prohibitory and protective character in the fifteenth century, from which time it grew in importance with the rise of modern nations.²⁷

The problem facing Spain in the control of trade and the flow of silver through the Plata area had, therefore, a precedent for its solution in an already existing Spanish institution,²⁸ for La Plata surely was a frontier land of the Spanish Empire. The prohibitive character of the agency can be seen not only in the purpose and in the various restrictions which we will presently discuss, but in the size of the tax imposed, fifty percent. A prohibitory tax, of its nature is not expected to produce supporting revenues, and the proof that this was the case in these laws is supported by the fact that in the fourteen laws no mention is made of the disposition of any revenues collected, except, that in the case of confiscations, the proceeds were to be divided among the treasury, the judges, and the informer

²³ *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano*, I, 483. See also, J. Espasa, *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo Americana*, II, 1033.

²⁴ Manuel Colmeiro, *Historia de la Economía Política en España*, Madrid, 1863, I, 336-337. He maintains, contrary to the opinions of others, that the prohibitive system had no feudal origins.

²⁵ Angel G. Palencia, *La España del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, 1940, 63, demonstrates the interchangeability of the words.

²⁶ *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, 28.

²⁷ *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano*, I, 483; XI, 871. The use of protectionism was not largely fostered until the first Austrian, Charles I (V), 1519. Others set various dates, 1431, 1446, and 1469. See Espasa, *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo Americana*, II, 1033, and Konrad Haëbler, *Prosperidad Y Decadencia Económica de España*, Madrid, 1899, 183.

²⁸ Palencia, *La España del Siglo de Oro*, 70, treats briefly of the use of this institution in Castile in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

in each case.²⁹ It can be further upheld on the basis that nowhere else in the Indies was so high a tax imposed.³⁰

The characterization of the *aduanas* of Córdoba as a new institution in the Americas is silhouetted by a similar problem which Spain faced in trade control at the end of the sixteenth century. For some time, the trade between the Americas and the Far East had been a source of difficulty. But in 1593, when it was decided to restrict the illicit trade, the medium of an *aduanas* was not used, instead, the control of such trade was put into the hands of ". . . my Viceroy of Peru and New Spain, my Governor and Captain-General of the Philippines, the Presidents and Auditors of my royal audiencias of the Indies, and all other magistrates therein. . ."³¹ No particular agency or agent was made responsible, as in the case of the *aduanas* of Córdoba.

Provision was also made for the foundation of *aduanas* in the Platine area other than the one at Córdoba. The basis of this provision was a fear that new roads might be found to reach Peru without passing through Córdoba. The President and Audiencia of Charcas were authorized to instigate such *aduanas* as might be necessary, ". . . if through another way, road, path, shortcut, or evasion, a way is discovered of passing to Paraguay, Buenos Aires, Río de la Plata, and other parts, to have communications with Brazil or its ports. . ."³² This authority and that expressed in law fourteen, ". . . we order that if they decide to found *aduanas* in other parts of the Indies they will recognize these laws . . .",³³ are additional evidence that the *aduanas* of Córdoba was a new institution to the American scene, for, in the latter statement, the law is set forth as organic and fundamental. Had other *aduanas* of this type been existent at this time in the Indies, such terminology would not have been used. It is therefore advanced that this establishment of 1622

²⁹ *Recopilación, Lib. VIII, Tit. XIV, Ley I.*

³⁰ Haring, *Trade and Navigation*, 78, shows that the averia did not early go above 7%, and that in 1644, Philip IV pledged that he would never let it rise above 12%. Ricardo Levene, *A History of Argentina*, Chapel Hill, 1937, 130, indicates the highest *almojarifazgo* as 10%, and the highest *alcabala* at 6%. To be considered in a different light is the "Royal Fifth" which was levied on the production of the mines.

³¹ Emma Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Cleveland, 1903-1909, VIII, 316-318. Also, Ayer MS # 1438, Cédulas Reales. . . Philip II and Others, 1569-1603, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

³² *Recopilación, Lib. VIII, Tit. XIV, Ley III.* The inclusion of this clause was probably based on information relative to the use of the route through Paraguay to Brazil.

³³ *Ibid., Ley XIV.*

marks the first prohibitory or regulatory type of customs house in the Americas.

Inasmuch as the major purpose of the law was to prevent the movement of silver from Potosí through Buenos Aires, it was only natural that such regulation should take high precedence. Laws two and four ordered that, ". . . for no reason, neither license of the Viceroy, the Audiencia, the Governor, of persons of high or low estate, public or private . . ." would anyone be able to take gold or silver through the customs house in any manner or form.³⁴ Consideration was given to the needs of travelers, who were allowed to carry forty marks of silver and no more.³⁵ Should some of the precious metals be smuggled through the customs, and on investigation their whereabouts be located, the possessor was to be prosecuted, ". . . if he does not show personal knowledge of the owner of the gold or silver."³⁶

Such a policy, in view of the adverse balance of trade in the port of Buenos Aires, could only mean a serious drop in even the legal trade of the area. The city was to be reduced to a strict barter system because there were no precious metals in the immediate vicinity which could be used. Knowing that this would be the result, the laws took special recognition of the fact that every attempt would be made to smuggle the precious metals through to the port. On this account the directors of the customs house were ordered:

. . . to recognize, open, and inspect, whatever little chests, trunks, pipes of wine, baggage, packages, bales of goods, bulky parcels, personal goods, beasts of burden, chairs, and saddle packs of their service, in order that . . . if they carry gold or silver, the prohibition of the law should be executed so that the traveler or driver can be uncovered, and the agents may not allege ignorance, saying that they did not have notice of the suspect. . .³⁷

Spain recognized that this drastic restriction on the passage of gold and silver in addition to the fifty percent tax on goods might have the effect of depopulating the Plata area and reducing its military effectiveness. As a consequence of this, laws ten and fourteen specifically provided for the trade of the area. By the tenth, the people of the coast were permitted to bring the produce of the province, which they might sell in Tucumán and Peru, through the customs house without tax, and might return with goods in the same

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Ley II.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Ley IV.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Lib. VIII, Tit. XIV, Ley II.

manner, provided that they "... guard always the prohibition regarding gold and silver. . ." ³⁸ The same permission was set forth in law twelve in regard to the merchandise of the Peruvian traders. Law twelve also best illustrates the spirit with which this legislation was promulgated. It was not a policy of ruthless extermination directed revengefully at Buenos Aires for the harm it might have done to a few merchants, but rather it was a policy of justice, the voice of the system, directed against the lawlessness of the port and the injury it was doing to the common good. The basis of the policy was Spain's conviction of the validity of the entire colonial mercantile system.

Because it is our intention in restricting the inland port of Córdoba de Tucumán only to save the damage to the public good, commerce and trade, and to do in this regard what is possible for the convenience and utility of the provinces of the Río de la Plata, Paraguay and Buenos Aires: We declare that all and whatever kind of merchandise which they wish to carry and pass from Peru to the said provinces and port, should be able to be carried and traded freely, and without paying any taxes, in such a way that the citizens and inhabitants there are able to have and should have enough that would be useful and beneficial, provided they do not pass gold or silver, and they guard this item diligently. ³⁹

Knowing that these permissions would be abused from the attitude which the citizens of Buenos Aires had demonstrated, additional safeguards were outlined. In law thirteen of the *aduanas*, and by special law of the same date, ⁴⁰ the port of Buenos Aires was closed for exit or entrance, except with the presentation of the license of the House of Trade. No permits for this were to be issued by the Viceroy of Peru, and the governor of the province of the Río de la Plata was to see that it was fulfilled. Further, the governors of Paraguay and La Plata were to examine personally any ships that might depart, lest they be carrying away precious metals. ⁴¹

A number of the laws were concerned with the operation of the customs house. The sixth law provided in an interesting manner for more efficient enforcement, maintaining that, "Reward is an incentive, the observance of which is important to our royal service . . .," and provided that whosoever should inform the officials of the customs house of a violation should receive one-third of the merchandise confiscated as a result. ⁴² Laws eight and fourteen both

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Ley X.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Lib. VIII, Tit. XIV, Ley XII.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Lib. IX, Tit. XXVI, Ley XXV.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Lib. VIII, Tit. XIV, Ley V.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Ley VII.

dealt with the naming of personnel, "... guards and persons which seem necessary. . .,"⁴³ while it was further provided that the judges of the province should handle the hearings on such violations as might be uncovered.⁴⁴ A restricted area with a radius of twenty leagues from Córdoba was established within which illegal goods would be classified as contraband if found.⁴⁵ By means of law eleven, one large, potential loophole was closed. This concerned the measure to be used in evaluating the goods to be taxed. Lest the administrators of the *aduanas* find themselves putting low estimates on the goods passing through, it was ordered that the President and Audiencia of Charcas should send lists to them evaluating the common prices in Peru. From these lists the incoming goods would be evaluated and taxed.⁴⁶

In summation, three major concepts were present in the *aduanas* laws of February 7, 1622. The first was the prohibition of gold and silver to the coastal area. This restriction was rigid, forceful, complete, and often repeated, allowing only a minor exception in the case of travelers, and as such, supports the contention that this embargo was the main purpose of the laws. The second, concerning the movement of foreign, competitive goods to the north is likewise restrictive, yet less confining than that concerning the movement of precious metals, for the merchandise could enter the north country upon the payment of the 50% tax. This represents something of an enigma, for beginning with the permission of 1618, and everywhere evident in the laws of the *aduanas*, the port of Buenos Aires was to be restricted to such trade as was licensed by Seville. The number of ships engaged in such commerce was distinctly limited and the governors were warned that no other ships were to be allowed entrance. Yet, the very act of the foundation of the *aduanas* indicated an acceptance of the fact that violations of the law were going to continue. Such superseding of laws, based undoubtedly on recognition of their unenforcibility, can lead to many speculations of the moral fiber of the empire. The third concept concerns the approval of an active intra-vice-royalty trade, tax free, and without signs of control from the mother country.

It has been indicated that the prime purpose of the restrictive laws of 1622 was to seek a remedy for a sore point within the empire, and that the immediate cause lay within the area itself. There was

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Lib. VIII, Tit. XIV, *Leyes* VIII, XIV.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Ley XIV.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Ley IX.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Ley XI.

a contributory cause, the economic condition of the empire, which will be demonstrated shortly. However, inasmuch as the foundation of the *aduana* has been set forth as a turning point in the history of colonial Argentina,⁴⁷ and as others have taken a different position with regard to the motivation of its foundation, giving as a result a different view of the colonial commercial scene, it is necessary to examine their position.

It has been set forth that the motivating factor of the restrictive legislation of 1622 was the "insatiable greed" of the merchants of Lima, who, disturbed by the competition they received from Buenos Aires, protested against the commercial activities of that area and through their power and influence brought about this legislation.⁴⁸ This premise is most convenient for the development of a nationalistic history, for in stressing a titanic inter-continental struggle for control of hinterland markets, one can then rejoice in the inevitable victory which came to Buenos Aires against these overwhelming odds. "In the light of this new history, in the struggle between the two great sources of direction and power in America, Lima and Buenos Aires, the spirit of the new liberty is evident. . ."⁴⁹ The concept of the market struggle is based on the outraged protests of the Limeños, or the merchants of Lima, to the crown, yet direct reference to documents is studiously avoided.⁵⁰ Contemporary documents from the printed sources on the other hand say little of the matter of competition while expressing great concern over the extensive loss of gold and silver through Buenos Aires.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Levene, *History of Argentina*, 101-102.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 102; Ricardo Levene, in his *Lecciones de Historia Argentina*, Buenos Aires, 1937, I, 243; *Historia de la Provincia de Buenos Aires*, La Plata, 1940, I, 86-88; *Investigaciones Acerca de la Historia Económica del Virreinato del Plata*, Buenos Aires, 1927, I, 223; *Documentos Para la Historia Argentina*, Buenos Aires, 1915—, V, xli-xlii; and "Los Orígenes de la Historia Argentina; Problema Fundamentales en la Colonización del Plata," *Boletín de la Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana*, IV, 1927, 17.

⁴⁹ Levene, *Investigaciones*, I, 29-30; and "Interpretación Económica de la Historia Argentina," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, Madrid, 1926, III, 186-187.

⁵⁰ It is not improbable that the viewpoint was conceived from a source not wholly satisfactory, the representation of the Consulado de Lima to the King, made in the year 1774, 152 years later. See, Levene, ed., *Documentos Para la Historia Argentina*, V, 312-314. Similar documentation a century earlier refutes the argument. See, Resume of the Consultations in which His Majesty resolved to found and extinguish the Audiencia of Buenos Aires, 1672, Gondra MS # 318.

⁵¹ See particularly the memorial of Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco, November, 1604, Ricardo Beltrán y Rozpide, *Colección de las Memorias o Relaciones Que Escribieron los Virreyes del Peru*, Madrid, 1921, I, 130; and the memorial of Viceroy Don Francisco de Borja y Aragon to Marqués

The logic of the position which advances the concept of competition with the merchants of Lima as the sole cause of the prohibitive legislation is therefore tenuous. While the introduction of goods through Buenos Aires naturally reduced the demand, and, in a loose usage of the word, caused "competition," the idea of a great struggle over this is absurd, for the concept of competition connotes at a minimum the notion of legal equality between the competing agents. In the case of Buenos Aires versus Lima, this cannot be considered. Lima was engaging in legitimate trade, having a definite, important position within the empire scheme. The trade of Buenos Aires, for that part which would be competitive, was outside the law. Legitimately it was an outpost of empire, a security point, nothing else. Even if a parallel of equality could be drawn, the conclusion that it was the Peruvian merchants who influenced legislation at this time, overlooks completely the fact that it was many of these same merchants who were profiting by the trade of the Río de la Plata.⁵² Any losses from the competition to contraband goods coming through Buenos Aires would accrue to the merchants of Seville, not those of Lima, for it was not compulsory that the Lima merchants purchase established quantities of goods at Portobelo. This is evident in law one of the *aduanas*, which clearly states: "... in grave damage to the commerce of Seville. . ." The merchants of Lima and their agents in Upper Peru could have stopped the trade of Buenos Aires were they not profiting by it, but their role was that of middlemen seeking a profit regardless of the source of the goods. Inasmuch as the profits on merchandise coming through Buenos Aires would be greater, the absence of protesting documents is understandable.

There were two causes for the restrictive legislation of 1622: the primary, which consists of the conditions of the port; and the secondary, which consists of the condition of the empire both in relation to the commerce of Buenos Aires and in relation to world affairs. While the injurious contraband commerce of the port and the flow of silver to Spain's enemies, as well as Spain's futile attempts to stop them, have already been mentioned, it would be well to recall here that complaints about the illicit traffic were coming from

de Guadalcazar, 1621, Felipe Bailly, ed., *Memorias de los Vireyes, Que Han Gobernado El Peru*, Lima, 1859, I, 82-83.

⁵² José Manuel Ots Capdequí, "Las Instituciones Económicas Hispano Americanas Del Período Colonial," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, XI, Madrid, 1934, 265.

Buenos Aires itself. Although Hernandarias and his aide, Manuel de Frías, had written often before, the year following the end of his last governorship, in 1619, Hernandarias wrote a stinging memorial entitled, "Of the Excesses and Disorders of the Port of Buenos Aires," in which he stated:

. . . the scandal is public and well known which has been done and is being done in this province, . . . the excesses and disorders which have been committed and are being committed . . . there have entered and are entering ships under title of ships of register . . . against the wish and express cedula of His Majesty, and they carry gold, silver, hides and other prohibited things, and although the prohibitive orders have been known and are known and understood by the justices and judges of the said port, they make no attempt to punish as they should, and they have given help to the transgressors. . .⁵³

This was written by the ex-governor of the area, three years before the promulgation of the restrictive legislation. Would it seem likely that a memorial written in this vein would go unheeded when it came from a man who was highly regarded for his attempts to control the contraband of the port, and who had written so often before? It is more than a coincidence that Hernandarias, seventeen years previously, at the time of the granting of the first commercial permission of 1602, had interpreted that permission so as to exclude the interior and form a geographic-economic pattern of isolation which was adopted in the restrictions of 1622.⁵⁴

The most convincing of all evidence, however, that the instigation of the *aduanas secas* arose not from the pleas of the merchants of Lima, but from Buenos Aires itself, from the letters of Frías and Hernandarias, is the reference to the proposed customs house in a prohibition of December 13, 1621. The King wrote in that order:

I have written to Manuel de Frías, Governor of Paraguay, advising him of receipt of his letters in regard to the obstructions he has put to the commerce of Buenos Aires, and what referred to the persons of Juan de Vergara and Diego de Vega [two well known *contrabandistas*]. It is agreed what must be done and faithfully executed, and the thing which appears most necessary is to shut off the passage from Brazil to Paraguay in order that through these Portuguese, foreigners, or natives may not pass, and because of this a cedula had been dispatched, a copy of which was sent to Licenciado Don Alonzo Pérez de Salazar, Oidor of Charcas, to whom was given a commission in order to execute the said cedula, in virtue of which he will close

⁵³ Molina, *Hernandarias*, 188.

⁵⁴ D. Rafael Antúñez y Acevedo, *Memorias Históricas Sobre la Legislación y Gobierno del Comercio de Los Españoles con Su Colonias en las Indias Occidentales*, Madrid, 1797, 122.

the passages, and establish the *puertos secos* in agreement with the provisions and penalties contained in the said cedula.⁵⁵

In relation to the situation from the viewpoint of the empire, Spain was forced to pass the restrictive legislation. Among the first of the reasons determining this was the decline in treasure from the mines of the Americas. After a high point of almost fourteen million pesos of annual income was reached in the period 1591–1600, a marked decline set in, caused by a number of events, among which, affecting the return from the Potosí mines, was the increase in smuggling, particularly through the port of Buenos Aires.⁵⁶ This leakage is difficult to measure in quantitative terms but was definitely present on a large scale. In addition to this, which would seem reason enough for restrictive action, was the debt situation in Spain itself. Philip II, at his death in 1598, had left a debt of some 140,000,000 ducats,⁵⁷ nearly a billion and a half pesos, more than the mines of the Americas would produce in a hundred of their best years.⁵⁸ The reign of Philip III saw this situation aggravated by a *vellon* or copper debasement inflation which seriously affected the worth of Spanish money.⁵⁹ An internal solution was available neither from taxation nor from the stimulation of industry, the first because of the already overbearing tax system, mainly in the hands of tax farmers,⁶⁰ the second, because of the serious decline of agriculture, industry, and commerce.⁶¹ Financial conditions were in such a deplorable state that Philip IV, finding his Royal Patrimony exhausted,

⁵⁵ Gondra MS # 32d. Prohibition against the entrance of foreigners into Paraguay by way of Brazil, December 13, 1621.

⁵⁶ Hamilton, "Imports of American Gold and Silver," *loc. cit.*, 464–466; Haring, *Trade and Navigation*, 384, shows annual amounts of registered silver at Potosí alone at about 4,000,000 pesos, with the decline coming at the turn of the century. The "royal fifth" had declined after 1600 so that from 1617 on, the "fifth" was about 300,000 pesos a year less than it was in the last decade of the sixteenth century.

⁵⁷ Bernard Moses, "The Economic Conditions of Spain in the Sixteenth Century," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893*, Washington, 1894, 131.

⁵⁸ Hamilton, "Imports of American Gold and Silver," *loc. cit.*, 465, states the annual average of the high ten year period in American gold production to be 13,922,672.2 pesos. With the ducat pegged at 11 pesos the debt would be 1,540,000,000 pesos, or about 100 years of top production.

⁵⁹ Earl J. Hamilton, "Spanish Mercantilism before 1700," *Facts and Factors in Economic History*, 1932, Cambridge, 218–219.

⁶⁰ Colmeiro, *História de la Economía Política en España*, II, 556, estimates the number between 60,000 and 160,000.

⁶¹ Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501–1650*, Cambridge, Mass., 1934, 79. A treatment of this problem can be had in Bernardo de Ulloa, *Restablecimiento de las Fábricas*, Madrid, 1740, 2 vols.

sent letters on June 14, 1621, to the officials and clergy of the Indies asking for loans and donations.⁶²

Besides the critical financial situation, Spain was faced by a hostile Europe. For almost a century her claims in the New World had not been seriously challenged. After the defeat of the armada the nations of northern Europe developed a heightened interest in the Americas, commercially as well as territorially. The Dutch were particularly interested in the South Atlantic, and constant badgering of the Estates General by William Usselinx for a Dutch West India Company which would ". . . increase the wealth and power of the Dutch . . . and give opportunities for undermining the power of the King of Spain . . .," could not have gone unnoticed.⁶³ In 1621, the year of Philip IV's accession, not only did the twelve year truce with the Dutch come to an end, bringing Spain into the Thirty Years War, but in the same year the Dutch West India Company was authorized. The declining revenue, the huge debt, and the increasing imperial demands called for laws which would insure the maximum return of precious metals to the mother country.

The ensuing legislation which affected the port of Buenos Aires came, therefore, as a necessity of the empire of which that port was a part, to conserve the dwindling supply of the much-needed precious metals, a very noticeable portion of which was being lost through the Río de la Plata to Spain's continental enemies. This reasoning, which maintains in essence that Spain was legislating in this restrictive manner to bolster her sagging economic situation, is upheld by other concurrent statutes. In 1624, the death penalty was authorized in Spain against anyone who violated a series of harsh specie laws,⁶⁴ and throughout the period with which we have been concerned, laws were promulgated holding under close supervision the New Spain-Philippine-China trade, as well as the Peruvian-Philippine-China trade.⁶⁵

The exact date of the foundation of the *aduana* is difficult to fix.⁶⁶ Communication being what it was, it would have been im-

⁶² Don Fernando de Montesinos, *Anales del Peru*, Madrid, 1906, 220-221.

⁶³ J. Franklin Jameson, *Willem Usselinx, Founder of the Dutch and Swedish West India Companies, Papers of the American Historical Association*, II, No. 3, New York, 1887, 8, 31, 43, 70.

⁶⁴ Hamilton, "Spanish Mercantilism before 1700," *loc. cit.*, 218.

⁶⁵ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, XVII, 28-50; XIX, 169.

⁶⁶ Many authors carelessly place the date at February 7, 1622, the date of the promulgation of the law in Madrid.

possible for the laws to have reached the Americas before the latter part of 1622. References to its foundation in letters and cabildo records indicate that more than a year had passed before any action was taken towards its establishment. The cabildo of Buenos Aires first concerned itself with the cedula on March 27, 1623,⁶⁷ and on June 19, 1623, in protest instructions to Antonio de León, representative of the city of Madrid, mentioned the arrival date of the new laws as March 25, 1623.⁶⁸ A later cabildo referred to the

. . . cedula of His Majesty which was published in this port March 25, 1623, which was instantly executed by Sr. Don Diego de Góngora, who on that occasion was governing this province. He ordered it proclaimed with the sounding of drums in the presence of all the citizens which was done by order of Sr. Don Alonso Pérez de Salazar, and the order of the Royal Audiencia of the city of La Plata, to whom his Majesty had entrusted its execution.⁶⁹

Yet these dates do not fix the exact foundation time of the *aduana*, and it can only be approximated. There was nothing in the law indicating a specific person to whom the foundation of the *aduana* was charged, but from a cabildo letter it can be noted that the laws were sent as an enclosure to a letter charging Sr. Don Alonso Pérez de Salazar with the foundation:

His Majesty dispatched a Royal cedula with others inserted in it, dated Madrid, February 7, 1622, directed to Sr. Licenciado Don Alonso Pérez de Salazar, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of the city of La Plata, in order that in it, in Tucumán, and in this port he should make public. . . ⁷⁰

On September 30, 1623, the same Pérez de Salazar received orders, in the form of a Royal Provision from the Viceroy of Peru, to go from Córdoba to Buenos Aires to fill the office of the governor, since Diego de Góngora had died.⁷¹ At the time of his arrival in Buenos Aires in October, 1623, the *aduana* at Córdoba had been established. The foundation date of the new customs house must, therefore, be left between April and September, 1623. That Alonso Pérez de Salazar not only received orders to establish the *aduana* but actually did so, is evident if we follow the invectives heaped upon

⁶⁷ *Acuerdos del Extinguido Cabildo de Buenos Aires*, V, 349-350.

⁶⁸ D. Roberto Levillier, *Correspondencia de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires con los Reyes de España*, Madrid, 1918, II, 186.

⁶⁹ *Acuerdos del Extinguido Cabildo de Buenos Aires*, VI, 134, January 7, 1625.

⁷⁰ Levillier, *Correspondencia*, II, 185, Cabildo to Antonio de León, June 19, 1623.

⁷¹ *Archivo de la Nación Argentina*, 146-147.

him in the letters of complaint which followed, but little or nothing seems to be known of the details of the establishment or its later administration.⁷²

In Buenos Aires the contraband trade practices were continuing at the time of the promulgation of the new legislation. The city was under the governorship of Diego de Góngora, who had begun his new administration under a cloud for attempting to bring illicit goods from Lisbon. His failure in this first attempt evidently did not deter him, for not only did Diego Páez de Clavijo, who temporarily succeeded Góngora, note that in the month after the governor's death twelve ships arrived, six of them "in distress" from Angola and Brazil,⁷³ but in the *residencia* held on his term of service by Pérez de Salazar, Góngora was found guilty on twenty-five counts of failure to enforce the law. From the report of this *residencia*, the Council of the Indies, on February 18, 1631, fined the estate of the governor 23,050 ducats for these transgressions.⁷⁴ It can thus be readily surmised, that immediately prior to the establishment of the *aduana* of Córdoba, Buenos Aires was trading at a rate far above legal.⁷⁵

Among the many protests written against the *aduana*, official and individual, only one appears to admit that the blame can be laid to the port itself. The others blame everyone but themselves for their difficulties, and offer no solution but the abandonment of the *aduana* and the return to their former status under the permissions. Bishop Cortázar, of Tucumán, wrote in a different vein. In a letter which was mainly concerned with the state of religion, he comments on the *aduana* thus:

In this city of Córdoba the Oidor Alonzo Pérez de Salazar has founded the customs house which Your Majesty has ordered and it has left the port so closed that in a brief time it has begun the depopulation of this government. I confess that the excesses of the port were great; but the good government should not correct excesses by destroying the provinces and vassals of Your Majesty. The money which passes to Brazil is little for

⁷² The records of the cabildo of Córdoba, *Archivo Municipal de Córdoba*, Córdoba, 1880, 8 vols., curiously and unfortunately are missing for this period. Volume VI concludes with August 3, 1623, and Volume VII begins on January 1, 1628, without explanation.

⁷³ Romulo Zabala and Enrique de Gandía, *História de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, 1936, I, 299.

⁷⁴ Zinny, *História de los Gobernadores*, I, 111.

⁷⁵ On October 21, 1622, the Council of the Indies ordered Licenciado Sancho Flores to investigate the excesses of the port. *Catálogo Cronológico de Reales Cédulas, Ordenes, Decretos, Provisiones, etc.*, 1508-1810, Buenos Aires, 1938, 96-97.

there is little desire to risk it by sea where there are many enemies. The merchandises which they carry are so bad and so poor that they do not pass to Potosí, which is because they fear the contractors of Seville. . . The one remedy for all the land would be for Your Majesty to found an *audiencia* which will see more closely the damages and inconveniences which they are experiencing and the conveniences which could be opened by carrying negroes upon whom depend the preservation of these provinces.⁷⁶

Such pleading, touching as some of it might seem, had no effect in Spain toward lessening the restrictions which had been imposed. Indeed, the Council of the Indies was probably well calloused; it had been subject through these years to another stream of letters, which indicated that every attempt was being made to undermine the restrictive laws, and continue the illicit trade. This trade was hampered but not eliminated by the establishment of the *aduana*.

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⁷⁶ Roberto Levillier, *Papeles Eclesiásticos del Tucumán*, Madrid, 1926, Bishop Cortázar to King, Jan. 24, 1626, I, 415.

Lower California an Island

For a study in the tenacity of human tradition no better example can be chosen than the persistence of the idea that California was an island. Fantastic conceptions of the early geographers of western North America arouse the interest of the modern scholar and provoke a smile. One geographer pictured North America protruding westward from a low latitude until it became a part of Asia. What else could be expected when mankind had seen but a slight fraction of the coasts washed by the great oceans? Columbus thought that he was near India, and thereby he begot one of the great misnomers, attaching the name Indian to the natives of the hemisphere. For his fourth voyage Columbus was given instructions to try to find the channels leading through the supposed group of islands and thus draw close to China. The islands proved to be the frustrating shoestring of land which ties together two vast continents. Others went west under royal instructions to sail by the most direct route to "the Moluccas, China, Japan, Tarsis, and Opir"! Columbus died not knowing exactly what he had discovered and (alas for human glory!) he was, all unintentionally, cheated of an eternal honor. The great discoverer had stumbled upon a hemisphere, called later the Western, while the name which became attached to it was not his, but his countryman's, Amerigo Vespucci.

In the prevailing cartographical confusion was included one of the most barren splinters of the earth's crust, Lower California, called in colonial times simply California, later the Californias (by Salvatierra "the Carolinas" to impress King Charles II), and finally Baja California.

Two years after the fall of Tenochtitlán, Hernán Cortés had his energetic eye already peeled for explorations up and down the Pacific shores of New Spain, and he was engaged in building ships for the purpose. His captains reported pearls along the Mar del Sur and carried down from the northwest reports of an "Island of Women," where coasts were sprinkled with pearls and where metals were so abundant that these Amazons used spears tipped with gold. Montalvo's romance of chivalry, *Las Sergas de Esplandián*, having seen the light the previous decade (1510), lent wings to these reports and packed them with additional prodigies. Montalvo had written that the black women upon this island of California

used golden harness for the wild beasts which they tamed. Griffons devoured every hapless male who set foot upon the cliffy coasts.¹

These fairy tales produced a clinging name. The "Amazon" island came later to be referred to as California. Also, even in these early 1520's, a strait existed vaguely in the minds of western Europeans. It was thought to lead to the northwest. Cortés was ordered by Emperor Charles V to hunt for it. This idea of a fabled island and a fabled strait clung with the tenacity of a leech. So unyielding was it that after two centuries and a half of time, after five different voyages to the head of the gulf, after the waters had been observed closing in to the estuary of the Rio Colorado, after at least three distinct observations by land accompanied by written refutations, after all of this, the fable of a strait and the fable of an island still stubbornly persisted in the minds of tradition-ridden intellectuals. The dissolution of the fable had no sooner begun than it was suddenly revived to live for more than a century and a half.

Cortés, after delays and setbacks in his ship-building operations and the diversion of one of his fleets to the Moluccas, finally sent an expedition into the gulf (1533), which after adventures and mutinies reached Lower California, probably at La Paz. The venture ended in hunger and massacre. Some managed to get back to the mainland and reported pearls and gold on an island to the west. Cortés, thus stimulated, went to this "island" two years later and made a camp on the more southerly reaches of the Bay of La Paz in a place now called Puerto Pichilingue, opposite the southern tip of the islet called San Juan Nepomuceno. Hunger, if not Indians, attacked the little colony, and many died. The project was ultimately given up. The futile exposition resulted in a map drawn in 1542 by Alonzo de Santa Cruz which makes the Gulf of California a round circle studded with islands, which Cortés had called Santa Cruz, by the fabled strait which here runs almost directly from east to west.²

¹ Montalvo's significant passage is quoted in H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton (eds.), *The Pacific Ocean in History*, New York, 1917, 84 f.

² The map was reproduced by E. W. Dahlgren. The original lies in the Royal Library in Stockholm and is the only one known to exist. Cf. Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in Sixteenth Century*, San Francisco, 1929, 297 and plate III, where the map is given.

Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, New York, 1884, II, 443, states that Antonio Herrera in the *Historia General* says that Cortés already applied the name California to the peninsula. Herrera writes of the Cortés expedition in the Mar del Sur in two places of his

Towards the end of the decade of the thirties Cortés was given another stimulus, of the kind he could react to with alacrity. Cabeza de Vaca had come down from the north and had reported on Quivira and the seven golden cities which were also blue with turquoise. Friar Marcos de Niza was sent north by Mexico's first Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, to investigate. The friar carried back tall tales of things he had never seen. The great Coronado expedition was then decided upon. But Cortés would get the jump on the Viceroy. Even before the friar had returned with his report, Cortés had sent three ships north along the gulf under command of Francisco de Ulloa. Two of the ships found the head of the gulf in September, 1539. Ulloa describes the discoloration of the waters of the upper gulf just as the Jesuit explorers, Ugarte and Consag, described them two centuries later, and the tides and the currents, too. Ulloa knew there was no opening or strait leading to the South Sea, for he wrote: ". . . We saw the whole sea where we must pass, between one land and another, closed with shoals, and in addition to this we saw between one land and another, many summits of mountains, the bases of which we could not see for the earth's curvature."³ It was evident Ulloa realized that he had reached the end of a closed body of water because he could not sail any farther. He turned back south and ultimately rounded Cape San Lucas. Ulloa does not mention the prongs of Río Colorado's estuary nor Montague Island which separates them. Perhaps the island had not yet been formed, but two hundred years later it was there and still is. He gave a name to these waters suggested by the reddish discoloration seen at their head and after that the gulf was often called the Mar Bermejo.

Then was set on foot the Coronado expedition, pulled north by the tales of Friar Marcos and the reports of emeralds and gold. Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza desired to communicate with Coronado from the sea and thereby dispatched Hernando de Alarcón to the north. The Captain left with two vessels, picked up another at Culiacán, reached the head of the gulf and, almost exactly a year after Ulloa's discovery, sailed eighty-five leagues up the Colorado "perhaps passing the Gila river." By November Alarcón was back in Mexico, having just missed Coronado's man, Melchior Díaz, who

Decada V: lib. VII, cap. 3 and 4 and lib. VIII, cap. 9 and 10. In these passages Herrera does not justify Winsor's statement, but rather he refers to the peninsula as *la isla de Santa Cruz*. Cf. the Madrid, 1730 edition, III, 199.

³ Wagner, *Spanish Voyages*, 20. Ulloa's narrative is given here, 15-46.

went by land west to communicate with him. On this journey which cost him his life Díaz crossed the Colorado and penetrated some distance south into California.

Alarcón, like Ulloa, considered California a peninsula. When the report of what Ulloa saw reached Seville in 1541 the Casa de Contratación charted the whole hemisphere, showing California as a peninsula. Two other maps were now made. One, allegedly, was done in Mexico by Domingo del Castillo, one of Alarcón's pilots, and the other, called the Sebastian Cabot planisphere, was thought mistakenly to have been drawn by the famous navigator himself. Both appeared approximately in 1541 and were influenced by the map of the Casa de Contratación. Likewise both are based in large measure on Ulloa's own *relación* and upon that of Francisco Preciado who was with him.⁴ The truth about California was becoming known.

Other maps continued to appear making the barren cactus patch a peninsula. Such is that of Battista Agnese, an Italian cartographer, dated May 15, 1542; others were the Agnese's map of 1543, the chart of Diego de Homem dated 1568, and the piece in a Portolano atlas dated after 1554, the *Nova Franza* map of 1556, the piece of Gerard de Jode published in Antwerp in 1664, and the manuscript chart of John Daniell of 1637.⁵ The first Ortelius atlas, *Teatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570), portrays California a peninsula, very thick at its base, while immediately to the north the land bulges far to the west and nose of the bulge is called Quivira.⁶ Jodocus Hondius, who brought out a new edition of Mercator's "Atlas" in Amsterdam in 1606, makes California a peninsula in his map of the world.⁷ Similarly, the Portolano map of 1580 shows California a peninsula, as does the Willem Janszoon Blaeuw's globe made in Amsterdam in 1617.⁸ The Ortelius map of 1564 makes California a peninsula and bulges out Quivira far to the northwest to a strait. Beyond the strait is a land called Anian!⁹

⁴ *Ibid.*, 298 with plate IV opposite, and 302 with plate VIII.

⁵ *Ibid.*, plates VI, VII, IX, XIII, XIV, XVI, and XX.

⁶ Carl Sauer and Donald Brand, *Aztatlán: Prehistoric Mexican Frontier on the Pacific Coast*, Berkeley, 1932, 5.

⁷ Reproduced in *Purchas His Pilgrims*, I, 312.

⁸ These two pieces may be found in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁹ Henry R. Wagner, *Some Imaginary California Geography*, Worcester, 1926, 10, plate I. See also the Paolo Forlani map of 1574, 17, plate IV, and that ascribed to Giacomo Gastaldi, 16, plate III. Many other maps of the sixteenth century correctly make Baja California a peninsula. Such are the maps of Forlani (1560), Ptolemy (1548), Martínez (155?), Zaltieri (1566), Mercator (1569), Porcacchi (1572), Wytfliet (1597), and Molineaux's globe (1592). Cf. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, II, 438. Cortés himself had it right. See his map of 1535 or shortly after. *Ibid.*, 442.

In spite of all the cartographers' efforts, the tradition of the island persisted. Perhaps Montalvo's romantic tale had made too deep an impression to be shaken off. There accompanied Sebastián Vizcaino in his famous voyage of 1602 the Carmelite Friar, Antonio de la Ascensión, who wrote a long account of the voyage in sixteen chapters. In chapter fifteen we read the following: "I hold it to be very certain and proven that the whole Kingdom of California discovered on this voyage is the largest island known or which has been discovered up to the present day and that it is separated from the provinces of New Mexico by the Mediterranean Sea of California. . ." Then the friar quotes a long passage from the diary of Captain Gerónimo Marqués of the Oñate expedition and, among other things we have the following: "We consider it certain that this is the sea of California, which runs on between the two lands of California and New Mexico to a communication with the ocean of the north by the strait which they call Anian." Marqués (sometimes Márquez) had been taken in badly by the garrulous Indians and had then made additions out of his own head. The natives told him of a great sea coast. "They do not know any end to it, but say that it is very wide and that they do not know how to place any end to it."¹⁰ The interminable sea coast was indeed true, the long coastline of North America, but why this should make an island of California only the tradition-accepting Marqués could tell us.

Furthermore, some mariners blundered, spoke their error, and the false tradition spread. It adhered with an amazing tenacity. While Father Pérez de Ribas was missionary on the lower Fuerte River in 1615 there came wandering into his pueblo of Ahome two worn and emaciated men. They were of the crew of Captain Juan Iturbi looking for food upon an isolated coast.¹¹ Ribas went down to the sea and had his Indians aid the ship's men with provisions from his establishment. This Captain Juan Iturbi had been commissioned by Tomás Cardona of Seville to hunt for pearls along those famous beds of Lower California south of La Paz. Cardona's nephew Nicolás had come with Iturbi to these waters and he said that he had gone as far north as the mouth of the Colorado. Yet both men seemed convinced that California was an island. One of Iturbi's ships was later captured off the peninsula's tip by the Dutch freebooter Spillberg. Henry Wagner surmises that Iturbi's maps

¹⁰ Wagner, *Spanish Voyages*, 265 f. Ascensión's relation is given here, 180-272.

¹¹ Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *Los Triunphos de Nuestra Santa Fee*, Madrid, 1645; Mexico, 1944, lib. III, cap. 10.

showing California an island were taken in this raid.¹² Shortly thereafter a rumor got afoot that certain mariners had actually sailed through the strait which was alleged to separate California from the mainland.¹³ This and a lot of other careless talk and writing created the fabled *Isla de la California*.

Worse, the thing got into published maps. In 1622 Michel Colin published in Amsterdam a map showing California an island. Copies of this were published in the various editions—Latin, French, Dutch—of Antonio de Herrera's *Descripción de las Indias Occidentales*. Then there is the Henry Briggs map (1622?) which appeared in *Purchas His Pilgrims* and was reproduced in 1624 in a small volume published in Amsterdam under the title *West-Indische Spiegel*.¹⁴ ". . . Here we have a new map of California" and "all those which subsequently appeared in the seventeenth century showing California as an island are based on that of Briggs."¹⁵ But there were many others. There was the Dutch map published by Pieter Goos in Amsterdam in 1666 and a French map (Paris, 1720) representing *La California ou Nouvelle Caroline*.¹⁶ Both show the alleged strait, which nobody ever saw, sprinkled generously with smaller islands of varying size. Kino, after his sojourn in California, also considered it an island. He drew a map to that effect in 1685 which Bolton reproduces in his *Rim of Christendom* (p. 192). The piece was published in Munich in 1703. Nor is this all. As late as 1757 a map of Pimería Alta still makes California an island.¹⁷

Lower California was finally colonized. After the failure of the greatest effort Spain had ever made in that direction, the Atondo-Kino expeditions (1683-1685), Father Juan María Salvatierra planted the first permanent settlement in 1697 at Loreto about one-third the distance north from the peninsula's tip. From that time to their expulsion (February, 1768) the Jesuits carried on, founded eighteen missions, fourteen of them permanent, with

¹² *Some Imaginary California Geography*, 28.

¹³ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, San Francisco, 1884, I, 169.

¹⁴ Reproduced in *Some Imaginary California Geography*, 32, plate VII.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 31 and 36. Wagner offers good reasons to surmise that the Briggs map was taken from the outline made by the Carmelite Friar, Antonio de la Arcensión. The Michel Colin map has been reproduced from time to time as an example of olden geography.

¹⁶ Both of these may be found in the Bancroft Library, University of California.

¹⁷ The map belongs to the Lowery Collection, no. 430, now in the Library of Congress, and is reproduced by Rufus K. Wyllys in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, VI (April, 1931), 111.

resident padres, and had complete charge, since the superior was Captain-General of the soldiers, Admiral of the "fleet" of transports, "boss" of the few resident colonials from New Spain, and head of the three rectorates (clusters of missions) which were in time established. Within a few years three exploring expeditions had been made to the Pacific coast of the peninsula. Some of these were ordered by the King, especially after the Bourbon, Philip V, ascended Spain's throne (1701). The tired China clippers on their last gasping lap from Manila to Acapulco, always carrying scurvy-stricken men, needed a port of call. Besides, California should be held against the prowling sea-dogs of the English and the Dutch. No port was found because none existed except the magnificent harbor of Magdalena Bay. But its shores were so dry and barren that no mission establishment or any other settlement could be set upon them for lack of fresh water.

The Jesuits, though, on their own account were curious concerning the alleged insularity of the cactus patch. Were it a peninsula, then the missions of Sinaloa and Sonora could perhaps ultimately join hands with those of California over the northern reaches of the gulf, to the advantage of them both. Kino when he went up to the fringe of the Sonoran frontier saw his Pimas carrying the same large shells of a deep blue such as he and Atondo had found on the Pacific coast when they crossed the rock-ridden peninsula. Salvatierra, into whose spirit a spark from Kino dropped to inflame him for California, was in repeated correspondence with his confrère of Pimería Alta. This business of crossing the sea to supply the establishments of California was much too costly. Expense, time, danger, delay were classical obstacles. The fierce *chubasco* blew hurricanes upon the frail craft trying to carry provisions, and the roaring seas tossed the boats like toys. Often from California's shores before being able to land, the transports were blown straight back to the coast from which they had sailed.

Kino in 1698 still thought California to be an island even though, as he later wrote, "from the very high hill or ancient volcano of Santa Clara I descried most plainly with and without a telescope the junction of these lands with those of California, and the head of this sea of California, and the land passage which was in thirty-two degrees latitude." But tradition weighed heavy upon him and he did not realize the truth of what he saw. "At that time, however, I did not recognize it as such and I persuaded myself that farther on and more to the west the Sea of California must extend to a

higher latitude and communicate with the North Sea or Strait of Anian, and must leave or make California an island.”¹⁸ The following year near the junction of the Gila and Colorado the natives gave him those blue shells, the same he had seen with Atondo on the Pacific coast of Lower California. On his way back to his mission of Dolores the truth dawned upon him in a burst of light, “that those blue shells must be from the opposite coast of California and the South Sea, and that by that route by which they had come . . . we could pass . . . to California.”¹⁹ In 1700 he confirmed the truth of his surmise by ascending the high summit above the famous Tinajas Altas in southwestern Arizona. “I saw nothing more,” he reports, “than the continuation of these lands with those of California and the sands of the California Sea.”²⁰

Kino reported his discovery with jubilation. Salvatierra was overjoyed at the news, for it might mean a land passage to the missions of California. He and Kino would both again confirm what Kino himself had seen. It so happened that in 1701 Juan María Salvatierra had crossed from the peninsula to the mainland in order to organize at the port of Guaimas a depot for supplies tagged for California. Always propagandist for the peninsula, he had five California Indians with him to show them off. At the Sonoran mission of Mátape Salvatierra discovered that others of his confrères besides Kino had the same idea about California. They asked him “to undertake the labor of finding out whether California is joined in the north to New Spain.” They urged him to make this discovery, offering at the same time strong inducements. Father Marcos Antonio Kappus showed him three blue shells which Kino had sent him, shells which had been worn by the “Cocomaricopas del Río Grande.” Others displayed pieces of cloth which had come from the northwest, of a kind never woven by the Indians there. Also Salvatierra saw large black pellets which the California Indians made from the gum of a white tree, the *annasada*, mixed with a special kind of soil and hardened. How did these things get to the mainland, for the Indians never crossed the gulf? “At seeing all of this,” wrote Salvatierra to his Provincial, “I rejoiced greatly, for the blue shells are exactly the same as those which are found on the other coast and the western sea of our California and

¹⁸ Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, New York, 1936, 429, quoting from Kino's *Favores Celestiales* in Kino's *Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta*, Cleveland, 1919, I, 229 f.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 430.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 441.

no one has ever seen them on the eastern shores. . ."²¹ These things must have travelled overland; California must be a peninsula! Kino and Salvatierra would find out; they would travel to the head of the gulf; they would see for themselves.

A notable expedition was organized; missionary and soldier cooperated. Kino's mission of Dolores supplied loads of provisions—flour, biscuit, dried meat and other necessities—for the hazardous venture. Eighty pack animals were likewise furnished by Kino, some more by other missionaries. Salvatierra rode west out of San Ignacio with one hundred and fifty saddle and pack animals. He would await Kino at Caborca on the Río del Altar. Domingo de Gironza, Governor of Sonora, loaned his best captain, the young and able Juan Mateo Manje, Kino's frequent companion on the trail. He brought with him an officer and eight soldiers. Kino came up shortly with his own pack train and soon the expedition was on the march.

Leaving Caborca on March 11, 1701, it was to go north-northwest over stark desert to Sonóita, almost astride the present Arizona line, and then turn west to labor through seventy miles of one of the most desolate patches of country in North America. Once the animals were crazed with thirst and Indians had to be bribed to indicate the water holes. Creeping west over primeval spewings of Santa Clara mountain, through volcanic ash and lava beds of fantastic mold, the hoofs of the animals were split. Later, plodding over dunes, the mules sank knee-deep in sand. Salvatierra described the country with a colorful pen. It spoke to him of the desolation of earth's last day; it was a Dante's inferno. But the northern shores of California's gulf were finally reached, and the fathers with the Captain stood upon the beach. It was sunset and they peered west and northwest over the waters. Perhaps they saw the base of the tall sierra, San Pedro Mártir, floating on a crimson sea, but no purple strait reflecting a sunset sheen did they descry leading to the waters of the Mar del Sur. Nay rather the mountains and hills of the other shore seemed to turn east and to meet those running west from the mainland. California was no island, the fathers were persuaded; but Manje had his doubts.

They could not continue north along the gulf shores. There was no water. The animals would die and so would the men.

²¹ These details and a minute account of Salvatierra's trek northwest with Kino are given in his long report to his Provincial Francisco de Artega. Cf. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, ser. IV, t. 5, 105-156.

On the return the two Black Robes mounted the steep and crumpled flanks of a peak north of Santa Clara Mountain. It was evening once again and once again they saw the regions of the north run together unseparated by any sunset-colored arm of the sea. All except Manje were now convinced: California was not an island.

This was in the spring of 1701. That November Kino rode to the junction of the Gila and the Colorado, jogged fifty miles down the latter's eastern bank, crossed the stream in a basket placed upon a raft and then returned southeast to his mission of Dolores where he wrote to his supporter, Father Antonio Leal: "I have just arrived in safety, thanks be to the Lord, from my peregrination or expedition by *terra firma* to California . . . [and] I bring with me not a few blue shells from the opposite coast of California," which the Indians declared to be seven or eight days distant.²² Concerning both these jaunts Kino wrote in the *Favores Celestiales*: [We contented ourselves] "with having seen so plainly the truth in regard to the land passage to California, for, with this journey and that which I made five months afterward to thirty-three and thirty-two degrees of latitude, not the least doubt remained, unless it were in the incorrect opinion of some disaffected persons."²³ The last phrase is significant. Doubters, thought Kino, would be motivated more by emotion than by reason. He now suggests the name Alta California for the more northern regions west of the Colorado and Baja California for those farther south.

Then again the following year (1702) in March he rode down the Colorado's eastern bank to the estuary where its muddy waters fuse with the sea and, camping the night upon the beach, he saw the sun rise over the waters of the gulf. Assurance was now trebled. He returned to Dolores to draw his famous map and to record the event in his diary, the *Favores Celestiales*. He wrote:

The sun rose over the head of the sea of California, proof most evident that we were now in California; and, besides, we saw most plainly more than thirty leagues of continuous land to the south, and as many more to the west, and as many more to the north, without the least sign of any sea except that which lay to the eastward of us.²⁴

²² Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, 475.

²³ Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, 287.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 344. The map is entitled *Passo por tierra a la California y sus Confinantes Nuevas Naciones y Nuevas Misiones de la Compa, de Jesus en la America Septentrional*, 1701. Cf. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, where the map is reproduced opposite page 400. The date 1701 beneath its inscription is an error. The map was first published in Paris in 1705 with the inscription: *Passage par terre a la California*; *Ibid.*, 569.

Now comes the rub. The observations of Kino and Salvatierra, the critical check on them made soon after, the detailed reports made by the missionaries, the map—these were not accepted, no not even by Kino's own companions on the rim of the frontier. Neither Agustín de Campos, Kino's neighbor at San Ignacio, nor Father Luis Velarde, Kino's companion for years at Dolores, accepted these findings. Statements of Velarde's rejection border on the comical, so unrealistic are they. The padre in 1716, five years after Kino's death, writes of the "Pimico California Gulf" and avers that

if one does not say that it inclines towards the east, even so it might come to empty almost in front of Terranova, breaking into a great bay, where one of the two Spanish vessels . . . in charge of Miguel Delgado in the year 1601 was carried . . . by a great storm in the bay of Bacallao [Newfoundland], now first almost to the west and then to the south, through a narrow of the sea for three hundred leagues, until it emptied into a river on whose banks they saw various nations and a walled city, which they took for the Gran Quivira.

After this gem of clear and precise geography Velarde adds that though Kino "declared with solemn affirmation that the California gulf did not go up farther than thirty-four degrees latitude, and that the Río Colorado ended in a great bay . . . I am inclined to think the contrary."²⁵

Velarde goes on and on building up what apparently was to him an imposing refutation of Kino's discovery. "The data of the said padre [Kino] do not agree as they should." The error was in the badly informed Yumas or in the interpreters, "or perhaps [Kino] relied very much upon his eyes, for he says that he saw [the land connection] from the hill of Santa Clara." But this was too far away, thinks Velarde, "and he could well have been mistaken in his sight, accustomed as it is to present that which it is desired to see." The testimony of Father Agustín Campos is now brought in to corroborate the argument. He made many visits to the Yumas, Velarde informs us, to verify this very point. Campos examined the evidence and found it wanting, "and if he did not climb the hill of Santa Clara it is because he is so sure of his conclusions that he did not try to verify that which is a known fact." This phenomenon of begging the question occurs over and over

²⁵ *Descripción de la Pimería*, dated at Kino's former mission of Dolores, May 30, 1716. Cf. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, ser. IV, t. 1, 344 ff. I use here and hereafter the translation done by Rufus Kay Wyllys, published in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, VI (April 1931), 111-157, especially 120 f.

again with Velarde and with those who followed him in clinging to the hoary tradition decades later. Besides, continues our padre, the Pimas saw on the shores of the gulf articles of clothing "and even today there is on the beach a plank chiseled and bored," which a Chinese sailor and carpenter said was proof that this was the wreck of a great ship. Where did this ship come from. Perhaps it was one of the vessels of Francisco de Alarcón "who they say entered the strait," or possibly one of the other ships sent north by Antonio de Mendoza.

Sir Francis Drake is now introduced. Because "this Drake did not coast California by this gulf or arm of the sea," Velarde is moved to say California is only one island. However, the padre places more faith in another English navigator "whose name I have not been able to learn" who spoke of the Río Tizón.

But why did not the men of the Manila galleons see the strait? Velarde tells us. They may have passed the strait at night, or it may have been in a cove, or their sight deceived them "navigating as they did some distance from the land and the strait being so narrow"! Evidently neither Kino nor the mariners of the China clipper could see clearly. There are a thousand other reasons why these ancient mariners did not see the strait, avers Velarde, and the last one he mentions is completely fantastic. It was "most of all because these mariners were navigating in the interest of finding good places for fishing for pearls and not in the interest of gaining glory by discovery." Was Father Velarde a bit jealous of Kino's prestige? Finally we have: "I omit other data which persuade us as to the certainty of this strait, or would at least leave the matter in doubt." Then there is some ghastly geography about Cape Mendocino and the land of Teso and of the "country of Holland which divides itself in the strait of Anian or some other strait between China and Tartary at the east of the lands farther north on the other side of the pole"!²⁶

Nevertheless, Velarde and Campos intended doing just what Kino and Salvatierra had done. They were going to see for themselves. They had planned the expedition for 1715, the year before the *Relación* was written, but things went awry. The ship Guadalupe which was to have carried the Jesuit Rector of the northern missions and in which the three were to have navigated through the straits into the Pacific, had been battered by a storm and did not arrive on the coasts off Caborca. Nevertheless at this mission

²⁶ Wylls, *loc. cit.*, 122-123.

Campos and Velarde "made fires at night and smokes and beams in the daytime to discover the California ships." Velarde evidently thought the Manila galleons must be passing every year through the strait. Now, it is a good seventy miles from Caborca to the gulf coast, and how fires at night and a plume of smoke by day could have been seen by ships sailing out in the gulf is still another phantasm which Velarde does not dissipate. Yet he did not give up the idea of a voyage of exploration. "I hope that the journey we have so desired to make will be carried out and that we shall prove finally whether California is an island or range of islands which are connected up to the neighborhood of the Marianas and more likely Japan."²⁷

The trip was never made, but Velarde's doubts and refutations and those of Campos did their share in discrediting Salvatierra's and Kino's discovery. Decades later, after both Ugarte and Consag had by sea confirmed Kino's accuracy, Father Jacopo Sedelmayr, no mean explorer himself, in a jaunt over the Arizona deserts made in 1747 found, as Kino did, that the Colorado flows directly from the north and enters the gulf from a northwesterly direction. He reports this in a letter from Tubutama to the Rector of the northern missions, José de Echeverría, making the following significant statement:

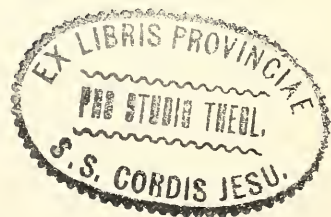
. . . Father Fernando [Consag] gives us the desired knowledge that California is a peninsula. And although Father Eusebio Francisco Kino saw and with certainty affirmed this, yet because Father Augustin de Campos contradicted it, the thing has remained doubtful, which is now finally settled.

The missive carries the date of March 20, 1747. Sedelmayr's geography is a bit off, too, for he adds: "Please God this will be for the conversion of the whole continent all the way to Japan, Yerdo, or Tartary—como es probable lo que es."²⁸

But we have got a bit ahead of our story.—Strong-limbed Juan de Ugarte, the third missionary to cross to California, decided to build a ship on California's gulf coast. Since the craft constructed in the mainland harbors had proved frail, leaky and sometimes more seriously defective, and since the fathers were repeatedly cheated by contractors and ship builders, Ugarte would remedy the situation by supervising the work himself. A stand of stout poplars, the Indians told him, fringed the sharp points of a crumpled

²⁷ Wylls, *loc cit.*, 123.

²⁸ *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, ser. III, 841.



ravine some leagues northwest inland from Santa Rosalía Mulegé. Ugarte went in with Indian helpers and a couple of white men, felled the trees, squared the timbers, and had them trekked to the coast by pack animals. There he built the *Triunfo de la Cruz* which proved to be the finest ship upon the waters of the gulf. After sailing south to place a mission at La Paz, the superior of the Baja California system determined to sail far north in order to confirm by water the observations which Kino and Salvatierra had made by land. It was May, 1721. Ugarte enjoyed the services of a skillful and reliable pilot, William Strafford, an Englishman. A smaller open boat and a canoe accompanied the sloop.

They touched at Tiburón Island, looked for a harbor on the eastern coast and found none, crossed to the California side and finally entered the hazardous northern waters of the gulf. There were adventures. Great tides here once left their canoe far up upon the sands; again the tides set it down upon rocks where it broke in two. New Indians were contacted on the California side. Ugarte suffered from a painful rheumatism which laid him flat on his back. The party crept cautiously north buffeted by current, tide, and storm; they began to notice a discoloration of the waters which had led Ulloa almost two centuries before to name these waters the Mar Bermejo. "Sometimes it was the color of lime," reported Ugarte, "... then yellow, then dark brown, and again the color of chocolate." They were near the head of the gulf where the muddy Colorado spewed its contents into the sea, already made ashen and nearly black from the volcanic and desert contents of the soil of the mainland and the clay of the water's bottom.

The party finally attained the goal of all its exertions by reaching the two prongs of the estuary of the Rio Colorado separated by the island of Montabue, or Montague. A recent downpour from the north had put the river in flood so that the explorers beheld great clots of grass-matted soil, trunks of trees, and lighter debris floating down the two channels. "The aspect of the sea was horrible and indescribable," reported Ugarte. As they sought harborage from an approaching storm in the lee of the island they came into full view of the western arm of the estuary and saw plainly that its shores continued northwest into the land and did not turn west into the Pacific. This was what they had come to verify. What Kino and Salvatierra had described from their mountain top, what Kino had seen from the northern end of the estuary, Ugarte and Strafford

now beheld from the estuary's double mouth. They were both convinced.²⁹

The climate was deadly in the midst of these summer heats and they had to return. The temperamental waters of the gulf and especially the northern reaches gave the party a bad time. Still courageous they wanted to explore the Sal-si-puedes (Get-out-if-you-can) Islands and to negotiate their currents. These waters tossed Ugarte's stout sloop like a cork. When one of the currents gripped the ship it was carried back in six hours what it had taken eight days to cover tacking against the wind. Ugarte's ailments increased and the deadly scurvy broke out.³⁰ They had to give up the exploration of these islands and seek rest and refuge from a storm in the lee of the hills of Tiburón.³¹ Finally the worn and battered crew of the *Triunfo de la Cruz* got across to Santa Rosalía Mulegé, but not without touching the skirts of a cyclone and beholding with terror a waterspout rise and writhe between them and the shore. Rested at Mulegé they got back to Loreto the middle of September. They had been out exploring four months.

²⁹ Both the leaders later made reports. Cf. Ugarte, "Relacion de descubrimiento del Golpho de Californias o Mar lauretano, 1722," (*Biblioteca Nacional, Californias*, leg. 53); and Strafford, "Descripcion de Descubrimiento de las Californias desde el cauo de Sn. Lucas p. esta al sur Sus misiones Puertos Baias Plazeres Naciones Reduzidas y Gentiles p. se tiene noticia la abitan y demas necessario pa. benir en cabel comprehension y de la Contra Costa pa. la parte del norte que es como se sigui." This piece is dated from Pitique (Pitic, later Hermosillo), 18 de enero de 1746, twenty-four years after the expedition. As is seen from the title it is a more general survey. There exists a second copy, portions of which are dated 1740. This "Descripcion" is variant in a number of places. These two copies are also in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, *loc. cit.* Transcripts of the three are in the Bolton Collection.

³⁰ Ugarte was suffering a strange ailment, perhaps shingles. His illness for a moment siphoned away his courage. He begged to be let ashore on the mainland and to enjoy some repose in its missions. The crew would not hear of it. So, after a rest at Tiburón they sailed back to Mulegé and Loreto.

³¹ When Deflot de Morphas close to a century later reported on this swift-running and watery labyrinth, he confirmed the evil reputation of these channels. Cf. Eugene Duflet de Morphas. *Travels on the Pacific Coast*, tr. Marguerite Eyre Wilbur, Santa Ana, California, 1937, I, 113. In 1875 when the ship of an American naval officer was caught up by these currents he reported that "sailing vessels found it almost impossible to make any headway." Cf. *United States Bureau of Navigation, Publication 56* (1880), 113, quoted by Sara E. Lake and A. A. Grey in *The History of (Lower) California by Don Francisco Javier Clavigero, S. J.* Stanford University Press, 1937, 252, note 27. Ugarte in the "Relación" thus describes the currents: "(They) are not like the others of the Gulf which can hardly be detected, but they form running streams as if waters were sweeping forth from a dam . . . and they growl as water running over rocks." Twentieth-century navigators have discovered this and other whims of the gulf waters to the peril of their lives.

Ugarte confutes the old-timers who from their desks had tried to trace the coasts of North America, saying, that they had copied from one another, had put in islands where there were none, had left them out if there were islands; a Dutchman made the Rio Colorado a canal leading north to a Strait of Aniase; even Kino and Salvatierra were wrong in thinking that the Colorado River emptied into the bay which washes the foot of the Sierra de Santa Clara, rather than into the Gulf. Ugarte did not know of Kino's journeys and proofs of the non-insularity of Baja California.

Nonetheless, Ugarte had given geography another jolt. Now it was up to scholarly individuals to study the explorer's report with free and open minds. Still, the minds of some of them remained weighted down with the lead of tradition. The modern reader is amazed to discover the reactionary attitude of the classical historian of the Lower California missions, Miguel Venegas.³²

Finishing his famous manuscripts in 1739, just seventeen years after Ugarte's excellent reporting, Venegas, behind his desk in Mexico, devoted two chapters containing eleven folio pages (489-499) to the confutation of his exploring confrères, Kino and Ugarte.³³ Here Venegas endeavors to refute Kino's arguments

³² The original manuscript of Venegas has never been published: "Empresas Apostolicas de los PP. Misioneros de la Campaña de Jesus de la Provincia de Nueva España Obradas en la Conquista de Californias, debida y Consegreadas al Patrocinio de Maria Santissima, Conquistadora de Nuevas Gentes en su Sagrada Imagen de Loreto. Historiadas por al Padre Miguel Venegas de la Misma Compañia de Jesus." I have used here the exquisitely penned copy of the Bolton Collection which consists of 683 folio pages. At the end Venegas or his amanuensis furnishes us with this information: "Se acabó esta Historia en Sabbado 7 de Noviembre de 1739." There are two other known copies in North America. One is in the Cuevas Collection, Mexico City, and the other, incomplete and poorly copied, in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. This manuscript was sent to Spain, gathered dust for years, and was then taken up by Father Andrés Burriel who abridged and edited the piece adding knowledge which had transpired up to the year of its publication in Madrid in 1757, under the title *Noticia de la California, y de su Conquista Temporal, y Espiritual hasta el tiempo presente* (3 vols.). A reprint has been recently published in Mexico City, Editorial Layac, 1943-1944.

³³ The dedication of the "Empresas Apostólicas" ends thus: Fecha en esta hazienda de Chicomocelo, y Agosto 5. de 1739. It is interesting to note here that in the table of contents (at least of the copy of the Bolton Collection) the titles of the two chapters (X and XI of book VIII) where this extravagant refutation is given have been deleted by someone who drew a pen over them.

Venegas had read and accepted what Fray de la Ascención had reported concerning the geography of the North and what others were alleged to have fantastically reported to Philip II. He says: "... There was a report which had been given in writing to Philip II by certain strangers. In this they declared that they had sailed in a ship to the coast of the Grand Bank which is in Newfoundland; that they were driven by the force

point by point, adducing seven reasons which, he considers, shatter the seven arguments given by the explorer himself. Moreover, Venegas asserts Ugarte was told that Kino had never passed through the country of the Yumas, for thus the Yumas informed Father Fernando Bayerca.³⁴

"I saw [the closing of the gulf]," wrote Kino as quoted by Venegas, "from the high hill of Santa Clara on October 9, 1698, and again with Salvatierra in 1701." Fray Manuel Oyela also saw it. Venegas brushes this off with swift assurance: what these padres described from Santa Clara's crest was the great bay; they could not have been beyond it. Then, continues Venegas, Kino avers he went down to the end of the Colorado River and saw the end of the gulf. Venegas denies this, because Ugarte says he was there too and could not pass beyond the channel. Venegas would not admit that this *estrecho* was the estuary of Río Colorado. He has, however, the fraction of a point in his favor: neither Kino nor Ugarte (nor Consag after them) had gone the length of this estuary. Kino saw the northern end of it as he trekked down the east bank of the Colorado by land; Ugarte saw the mouth of it where it emptied into the gulf some fifty miles southeast of where Kino had stood.

Thirdly, continues Venegas, Kino reports that as he stood at the head of the estuary he saw the sun rise over the water and he saw land in all directions "east, south, and southeast and more so to the north, the northwest and the northeast." Venegas denies all of this and the reason proffered is a classic: Kino's sight was always bad when he went to the mouth of the Colorado! In the fourth place Venegas dismisses Kino's argument concerning the blue shells and the earthen jars he had seen on the outer coast, remarking that the Indians in Pimería also had them. The answer is simple: the

of the wind and finally came to the Strait of Anian, which lies beyond Cape Mendocino: that through this strait they passed from the North Sea to the South sea; and that in passing they had seen a very rich city inhabited by civilized people, and likewise other things which were worthy to be made known. "Empresas Apostólicas," 19 f. In describing the Vizcaino expedition we read: "They sailed farther on and reached Cape Blanco in forty degrees of latitude where the coast begins to veer off to the northeast. There they came to the mouth of the Strait of Anian through which the Dutchmen had crossed from the North Sea to the South Sea. The present explorers endeavored to enter the Strait, but were unable to do so because of the violence of the currents." *Ibid.*, 22. Venegas in much of this leans heavily upon Torquemada's *Monarchía Indiana*.

³⁴ "Empresas Apostólicas," 491 f. where Venegas gives his third reason why Kino was wrong.

Indians had carried them across the strait. Fifthly, when Kino says strange tribes who had come to visit him from the far southwest described the Jesuit missionaries with their black robes and knew the habit of the Indians—that they sowed neither wheat nor corn, but lived on “rabbits, mescal, mountain goat, pitahaya, tuna and other things *del monte*,”—the answer is the same. Indians crossed the strait and carried this knowledge with them. And this same answer is given to Kino’s sixth argument, that at the estuary of Río Colorado he saw “scrub growth, fruits, incense, etc. [sic], all of which things are native to California, . . . and likewise near that *desemboque* we find various words of the Cochimí tongue.” Indians crossed the strait, argues Venegas, which is not wide enough to make any difference in the vegetation.

Venegas’ seventh refutation is interesting. Some ancient maps and a few modern ones make California a peninsula and with good reason. Among these was one drawn by “my old professor of mathematics at Ingolstadt.” The ancient’s were deceived by the hill of Santa Clara, even as Kino. He then quotes Ugarte against Kino, for the former saw the two prongs of the estuary which run in different directions. “Kino did not know this because in his time this discovery had not been made by sea.” To be logical Venegas must perforce admit the statement of Ugarte, which he then confesses to be true: Ugarte “judges it a peninsula, but a peninsula *aislada*.” The strait were so shallow, Venegas conjectures, that at low tide they were dry so that animals could pass over.³⁵

Then our good Venegas trains his guns upon Ugarte with such shattering explosives as the following: “*It is certain* (emphasis supplied) that the coasts of the Strait of Anian at the forty-third parallel run directly towards the northeast, because thus the maps have it and thus the explorers of the *contra costa* ascertained it.” Following on in this naïve manner Venegas, like his predecessor Velarde, draws Drake’s testimony into the argument. But there is another and stronger authority, the Spanish pilot Morera, sometimes spelled Morena, perhaps the mariner whose name Velarde forgot. Morera is alleged to have been captured by Drake at Cape San Lucas, taken north, and set down like a Robinson Crusoe far up upon the mainland coast at the time when Drake turned west to cross the Pacific. In the course of a five-year overland ramble this Morera “having traveled some five hundred leagues from the

³⁵ “*Empresas Apostólicas*,” 495.

Strait of Anian . . . came to a very populous country inhabited by different kinds of people and . . . in those regions he saw an arm of the sea which divides those lands of New Mexico from the other lands which are separated towards the west."³⁶ To the truth of all of these exact, detailed, and scientific observations Morera swore a solemn oath. This must then be so, an arm of the sea separates New Mexico from the northern reaches of California, which therefore is an island. The pilot Morera, argues Venegas, could have no possible reason for lying and so his testimony is to be accepted. Both Kino and Ugarte are thus plainly wrong!

The geography of Venegas now runs wild in this his second chapter of rebuttal. The "Mar de Californias" goes on to empty into the "Mar del Norte," because the former goes in the same direction as the Strait of Anian which is beyond Cape Mendocino. It probably empties into the "Mar del Norte" through the Strait of Anian. We have the sworn testimony of Captain Gerónimo Marquy who accompanied Juan de Oñate to New Mexico.³⁷ Drake too got into the "Mar del Norte" through the Strait of Anian and so California must be an island.

All of this, of course, is balderdash, yet the generation of Venegas accepted it. We are very surprised at Venegas, because in other matters he manifested meticulous care in ferreting out the truth. In 1736 after Father Juan Bautista Luyando had retired from his six years' mission career at San Ignacio (1728-1734) Venegas now busy with his manuscript, the "Empressas Apostólicas," addressed to Luyando a series of twenty-two most minute and particularized questions, not only concerning the mission of San Ignacio, but the

³⁶ "Empressas Apostólicas," 498.

³⁷ The Gerónimo Marquy of Venegas is clearly the Gerónimo Márquez of Fray Antonio de la Ascensión. This man is the Captain Gerónimo Márquez, a prominent officer of the Oñate expedition to New Mexico, in 1698. He made up one of the council of war when Oñate and his men resolved to destroy Ácoma early the following year; he was sent back to Mexico to inform the Viceroy concerning the action of malcontents and other matters; ultimately he was sentenced to perpetual exile from Mexico and for ten years from New Spain for involvement in the death of several Spaniards and Indians during the initial march north from the frontier. An important point here is this: did he accompany Vicente de Zaldívar's expedition of 1599 to seek the shores of the Mar del Sur? It is probable but not certain. The party never did reach these shores. It turned back at a point which the Indians said was three days' march from the sea. Did Márquez later make the assertions attributed to him by Venegas and De la Ascensión concerning things he had never seen? If so, the two fathers were badly taken in. For Captain Márquez, see George P. Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico*, Santa Fe, 1927, *passim*.

peninsula in general.³⁸ He makes minute inquiries concerning various *rancherías* of mission San Ignacio, concerning Sistiaga who succeeded Luyando at the mission, concerning the languages, the mission trails, and the rest.³⁹

In view of this meticulousness it is difficult indeed to understand the psychology of Venegas when he disregards the careful and observed testimony of his two confrères Kino and Ugarte and swallows in one gigantic gulp the vague and general statements of one Morera whose very existence cannot be proved and the alleged fairy tales of Oñate's Captain Márquez. Was this contradiction in his scientific quality the result perhaps of professional or family jealousy on the part of the historian, as it seemed to be with Campos and Velarde before him? Or could he simply not pluck from out his mind's eye that which he had heard all his life and had seen drawn in maps?

When the "Empresas Apostólicas" had been abridged by Burriel, and was ready for publication seventeen years after Venegas had written the last line, one of the royal censors found the work obscure on this point of California. Don Sebastián del Castillo Ruix de Molina (of the council of His Majesty, member of the *cámara de gracia y justicia*, secretary of the *Real Audiencia*, etc., etc.) under date of February 13, 1756, gives in quotes the reply of the group of censors charged with the responsibility of approving or disapproving the Venegas-Burriel opus. The work is good and useful, say they, and may be published, "even though the efforts of the author have not been very happy in that part which should leave us demonstratively certain with regard to the problem as to whether California is an island or not."⁴⁰

All of this was fifty-seven years after the clear statements of Kino and Salvatierra, thirty-seven after the confirmation of these statements by Stafford and Ugarte, and only ten years after all previous observations of men who had been there had been confirmed

³⁸ For Luyando see the author's "The Record Book of a Lower California Mission," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIX (July, 1947), 185-200, and "Report on Mission Santa Rosalia," *Ibid.*, XXXIII (January, 1951), 43-55.

(Editor's note. Since the acceptance of this present article there has appeared Father Dunne's *Black Robes in Lower California*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1952, which contains ample background for this study.)

³⁹ *Biblioteca Nacional, Californias*, leg. 53. Question number one is as follows: En primer lugar deseo Saber quantos anos estuvo VRa en S. Ygnacio, e por que año se vino á la Provincia [i.e. back to the mainland]. Si fue por falta de Salud, ó llamado de la obediencia.

⁴⁰ Archivo General de Indias, 67-3-31, Guadalajara, 137.

by explorer Consag. The Madrid censors of 1756 are not correct concerning Burriel's abridgement of Venegas, because the former in his twenty-second chapter of part three fully accepts the conclusions of Fernando Consag. We read: "For the present it is sufficient to repeat that as the result of this voyage it became evident that California is a peninsula joined to the mainland of New Spain and that the end of the gulf is the Río Colorado. . . ." ⁴¹ Moreover, Burriel had himself drawn or supervised the drawing of a map of California and its gulf, whereon the land is shown properly as a peninsula. True, the Jesuit Altamirano, who saw the work through the press, or some other final editor had discarded and tossed away the map, but Burriel from Toledo raised such a hue and cry over this omission that before many copies had been issued the map was found and inserted by Altamirano at the beginning of volume one where it may now be seen in most copies of the 1757 edition. ⁴² Then at the end of volume three of Venegas-Burriel a map of the Pacific Ocean and the continents bordering thereon (which a final censor or editor had inserted to replace the one made by Burriel) shows California a peninsula. Furthermore, Burriel constructively published the log of Consag in appendix three and attached to it Consag's map with California a peninsula. ⁴³

If Andrés Burriel thus blasted a hoary fable, others did not but continued to accept the vacuous testimony of a spurious Drake and an all but mythological Morera. ⁴⁴ And this makes us ready for our final case before the fable's dissolution. The aforementioned Croatian Jesuit, Fernando Consag, came upon the scene. He had gone to California in 1733 and was soon working in mission San Ignacio, the most northerly of the establishments until his founding of Santa Gertrudis in 1752. ⁴⁵ The perennial doubt concerning California prompted this second Jesuit exploration by sea.

⁴¹ *Noticia de la California*, II, 552.

⁴² Cf. Uriarte, *Obras Anonymas*, no. 1331, where the correspondence of the whole amusing story is given.

⁴³ *Noticia de la California*, III, 140-194.

⁴⁴ We say "all but mythological," because a Spanish sailor in Guatulco in 1579 claimed to have seen a man on board Drake's *Golden Hind* who was a pilot and whose name was Morera. Cf. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages*, 389. Perhaps this man was the Greek pilot called George whom Drake in December, 1578, had captured at Valparaíso with a small group of Spaniards all of whom he tortured to force them to divulge desired information concerning Chile. Cf. *Hakluyt's Voyages*, XI, 309.

⁴⁵ Consag's Slavic name has been variously spelled: Konščák, Konsak, Consago, Konsag, and Consag. The last spelling has been usually adopted because thus the missionary himself signed his name, as may be seen in the *Libro de Casamientos y Difuntos* of Santa Rosalía Mulegé. For a full account of this extraordinary man see Msgr. M. D. Krmpotic, *Life and Works of the Reverend Ferdinand Konščák, S.J., 1703-1759*, Boston, 1923.

The uxorious Bourbon, Philip V, was aging after a long reign (1701–1746). His repeated *cédulas* had done much for California and had they all been obeyed the disastrous uprising of the south in 1734 would not have taken place. However, with the south desolate and a port of call for the China clipper as far off as ever, he did not lose his vision of northern expansion nor his desire for a port of call in California. He and the missionaries concurred in their desire to expand the mission system to the Gila and the Colorado, to the very gates of Alta California. Philip V confirms the missionaries in their complete authority over soldier and sailor, Spanish pearl fisher and converted Indian: "Without whose orders [the missionary's] the soldiers may not go among the Indians, or attack them, or punish them, or do any other thing."⁴⁶ The King died in 1746 and his orders for northern expansion had been received in Mexico two years before.

Ferdinand VI entered the royal chambers to succeed his father. In the meantime the Jesuit Provincial of New Spain, Cristóbal de Escobar y Llamas (1743–1747) had sent two reports on California to the royal chancellery.⁴⁷ The second report, as is indicated in the title given below, demonstrates once again the persistence of the hoary tradition. Provincial Escobar suggests to King Ferdinand VI that there be issued a royal order to explore the northern reaches of California to verify whether the place be an island or peninsula! Was he ignorant of what Jesuits had done within the previous half century? Had he never known of Kino's explorations, observations, letters, map and his account in the *Favores Celestiales*?⁴⁸ Did he know of Salvatierra's letters, of Ugarte's minute report? The fact is that in 1745 the Provincial wanted set afloat a costly, hazardous voyage. As a result of these suggestions and consequent instructions of King Ferdinand in December, 1747, the second Jesuit expedition by water to the head of the gulf was organized.

⁴⁶ This *cédula* as re-issued by Ferdinand VI with modifications is given in Venegas-Burriel, *Noticia de la California*, II, 501 ff.

⁴⁷ Exposición a S. M. sobre el estado de California y medios de su conquista, por el Provincial de la Campaña P. Cristóbal de Escobar y Llamas, A.G.I. *Guadalajara*, 67–3–29, and Carta del P. Provincial de Nueva España a S. M.: dale cuenta del estado de las misiones y propónele medios para su fomento: que orderara averigue si California es o no isla, A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 107–7–7. See also Constantino Bayle, S.J., *Historia de los descubrimientos y colonización de la Baja California por los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús*, Bilbao, 1933, 228.

⁴⁸ Kino's *Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, I, 312 ff. See also Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, Ch. XXVI, "California no es Isla," 465 ff. and bibliography, 604. The *Historical Memoir* has been republished by the University of California Press, 1948.

Encouraged by the cedula of Philip V, Father Escobar gave orders, through the official *visitador*, Juan Antonio Bálthasar, that explorations along the peninsula be made by land and by sea. The illustrious Croatian, Father Fernando Consag, was designated for both. Both were made by him and both were reported upon minutely. The sea expedition interests us.

The father Visitor Bálthasar speaks thus of Escobar's instructions to his men:

The Father Provincial of New Spain, in fulfillment of the directions of our Catholic Monarch, gave immediate orders to the fathers of California to make every possible effort to verify with complete certainty whether their province joins that of Pimería or whether the gulf runs on through a strait to join itself to the waters of the more northern seas.

So, here it is again, and Bálthasar says that the Provincial wanted to settle this doubt once and for all, a doubt "which still agitated spirits and divided minds."⁴⁹

Consag, therefore, launched upon the hazardous voyage. Leaving by sea from Loreto, he took with him the experienced and trustworthy Captain Bernardo Rodríguez de Larrea, son of the pioneer Captain Rodríguez. At the Punta San Carlos in the north, the agreed rendezvous, Consag met the soldiers, the sailors, and the Christian Indians who were ready to depart in four small, open boats each equipped with a sail. The Captain, however, did not accompany Consag further. The padre's detailed account may be judged from the opening of his diary: "On the ninth of June, 1746, we departed in four canoes from San Carlos, which lies in twenty-eight degrees north latitude, the shallowness of the water in this harbor admitting only of canoes. The watering places of Santa Ana are three leagues from it."⁵⁰ Is Consag minute and often prolix? He rounds cape after cape, notes the extraordinary tides, the dangerous currents, ledges of sunken rocks, graveyard of mariners.

⁴⁹ José Ortega, *Historia del Nayarit, Sonora, Sinaloa y ambas Californias*, Mexico, 1887, 477. This is a reprint of the original and anonymous edition of Barcelona, 1754, with the title: *Apostólicas Afanes de la Compañía de Jesús en la America Septentrional*. There has been a recent Mexican edition (1944) entitled: *Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesús escritos por un padre de la misma sagrada religión de su Provincia de México*. Juan B. Ignúiníz in the *prologo* of the 1944 edition, XX ff., demonstrates satisfactorily that Ortega, who had been missionary in Nayarit, wrote only part one of this work, which is the story of the Nayarit conquest and missions. Parts II and III were authored by Juan Antonio Balthasar. Our quote is taken from part III, the beginning of chapter eight, and therefore came from Balthasar's pen.

⁵⁰ The Venegas-Burriel, III, 140-194, incorporates Consag's log.

Some nights are spent ashore, others in the rolling canoes. Thirst strikes and there is only brackish water to slake it. They meet strange Indians of the north; some flee like frightened deer, others stand to fight. Consag is shocked at one point by the complete nudity of the women and girls and moralizes upon it. A rudder is damaged and a squall carries away a mast. They come to the mottled waters of the head of the gulf, see the fires of some natives at night, and finally the middle of July they reach the prongs of Colorado's delta. Strong currents run in opposite directions, men landing on the island of Montague are endangered, and drift-wood and rubbish are strewn thickly along the California banks of the western fork. Having seen what they had come to see, that the gulf ended not in a strait leading to the Pacific, but in the estuary of a river, they were glad to turn their prows south. Ugarte had been vindicated, as had Salvatierra and Kino before him.

The log of Consag having begun with the entry of June 9, the day the party of exploration got under way, ends with the entry of July 25: "Now that the expedition is concluded, which set out to explore the gulf or the sea of Californias up to its final termination, we turned about not in order to sail directly to the port from which we had come, but to examine certain bays which we had not been able to do on the way up."⁵¹ Burriel adds the following paragraph as a note to the log:

Although this voyage and exploration of Father Consag does not in itself prove conclusively that California is a peninsula, because the gulf could have some channel of communication with the South Sea along the coast of Sonora and Pimería which was not set down in this log; nevertheless, if these observations are taken together with those which we have given especially in part III concerning explorations by land from Sonora to the Río Colorado, it becomes clear that there is no communication [of the gulf with the South Sea]. And thus it is demonstrated that California is a peninsula united to the continent of America.⁵²

Back at his mission of San Ignacio Fernando Consag summed up his achievements in a letter of October to the Father Visitor Bálthasar.⁵³ He speaks of the bays and the islands he had explored and there is the one main point which he makes very clear: "[The gulf] really ends at the mouth of the Río Colorado, just as Father Kino reported. . . ." Like Kino he even made a map showing the

⁵¹ Venegas-Burriel, III, 189 f.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 195.

⁵³ Dated from San Ignacio, October 31, 1746, A. G. I. 67-3-29.

peninsula-like character of the crooked tongue of land.⁵⁴ The very title of his map and of his log confirm the point.⁵⁵

And yet, and yet, even after all of this the thing was not accepted, not even by trained observers of the King. It was not Jesuits, this time, who tried to refute a confrère, but those well-known and oft-quoted travellers for the King, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa.

These royal observers were sent by Philip V to South America on a scientific expedition organized by the French. They sailed from Cádiz in May, 1735, and visited Cartagena, Portobelo, Guayaquil, Quito, Trujillo, Lima, Juan Fernández Island, Valparaíso, and Concepción. Still south they continued, passed through the Straits of Magellan, and then north to Fernão Noronha Island just off the bulge of Brazil. Arrived at Hispañola they separated to return to Europe in different ships lest an accident destroy their notes. Antonio de Ulloa, the better known of the two, astronomer, chemist, geographer, was the latter to return, reaching Madrid after many an adventure on July 25, 1746. Here is a coincidence. This date is the same as Consag's last entry in his log. The very day that Ulloa arrived in Madrid after eleven years of travel was the day on which Consag, having examined the head of the gulf, began his return voyage of exploration.

We do not know when a copy of Consag's log and of his map reached Madrid, but when they did they were seen by the royal observers who proceeded to train their intellectual guns upon the exploring padre. That they were travellers and geographers of experience makes all the more piquant their attempted refutation of Consag.⁵⁶

Juan and Ulloa were in possession of Consag's map and had studied it. They are impressed by Consag's observations of the heat,

⁵⁴ Cf. Krmpotic, *Life and Works*, 9, and Venegas-Burriel *Noticia de la California*, III, 194.

⁵⁵ Title of map is as follows: *Seño de California, y su costa oriental nuevamente descubierta y registrada desde el Cabo de las Virgines, hasta su termino, que es el Río Colorado año de 1747 por el Pe. Ferdinando Consag de la Compa. de IHS Missionero. en la California*. His log's title is the following: *Derrotero del viage, que en descubrimiento de la Costa Oriental de Californias, hasta el Río Colorado, en donde se acabo su Estrecho, hizo el Padre Fernando Consag, de la Compañia de Jesús, Missionero de Californias, por orden del Padre Christoval de Escobar y Llamas, Provincial de Nueva-España de la Compañia de Jesús. Año de 1746*.

⁵⁶ The original edition of the well-known account of their travels is entitled: *Relación histórica del viage á la América Meridional hecho de orden de S.M. para medir algunos grados del meridiano terrestre y venir por ellos en conocimiento de la verdadera figura y magnitud de la tierra* (Madrid, 1748). I have used the fifth English edition translated by John Adams: *A Voyage to South America*. . . , 2 vols. (London, 1807).

the winds, and the lack of water on the peninsula. They recognize Consag's scientific method and note his remarks concerning the northern coasts of the peninsula "to the Río Colorado." The harbors are few and not well protected, no streams flow into the gulf, the wildness of the natives, the hidden rocks and the rest, are all taken notice of. These observations are accepted on Consag's word who had been there and seen. Nevertheless, the principle point is *not* accepted. "The main thing is to find out whether California is island or peninsula, separated by the sea or the canal called California." Here there is reason to doubt. In fact, according to these royal travellers, Consag is wrong concerning the peninsularity of California and various reasons are alleged in proof.⁵⁷

Here is reason number one why Consag is wrong.—The padre says the sun rises and sets over dry land. But this is not convincing because there could be a great strait there and there could be a canal between one of the great islands which many travellers assure us are in that strait.—One is floored by such banging arguments! It is evident that tradition presses hard upon these two men and they are great beggers of the question, just as Jesuit Velarda had been almost half a century before them.

La segunda razón.—Consag says there is no opening to the west along the gulf coast of California. "But that this proof be valid it would be necessary to ascertain" that the river which Consag saw was really the Colorado and not some other stream similar to it in character and appearance. And third, "Besides, the men who went on land to the West said that the river appeared to flow from the sierra which is a part of California which leads us to believe that all that country where [Consag] journeyed is California and disjoined from New Spain." (!) One wonders who these men were. Fabled creatures, doubtless, like the pilot Morera of Venegas, captured by Drake and let loose far in the northwest to find his way back to New Mexico. Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa continue

⁵⁷ Parecer de Don Jorge Juan y Don Antonio de Ulloa sobre el Diario del Viage que el Pe. Fernando do [*sic*] Consag de la Compa. de Jesus hizo en el Mar de California con el fin de Reconocer si la tierra de California es Ysla o Peninsula. Cf. Archivo de la Provincia de Toledo S.I., legajo 341. I am indebted to the kindness of Father Constantino Bayle of Madrid for a microfilm of this interesting document. Another copy is in the A. G. I. (107-7-7) under a somewhat different title: Parecer de Jorge Juan y Antonio de Ulloa sobre el Diario de P. Cónsag para hacer patentes las razones que se ofrezcan en oposición a la certidumbre de que el mar de California no tenga salida por la parte del Norte: y que en consecuencia de ello sea peninsula y no ysla. Cf. Constantino Bayle, *Historia de los descubrimientos*, 230.

very seriously in this point, saying that in order that all doubt be dissipated Consag

[after arriving at the river which he calls the Colorado], would have had to continue his exploration so that if California were an island he would return to the same region whence he had departed. Or if a peninsula he would have gone to some village or site of Tierra Firme sufficiently well known. . . . "But not having taken these pains, the most we can conclude from this diary is that from the port of San Carlos to the Río Colorado there is no canal which divides California from the mainland."

Explorer Consag has not proved that the Colorado is the real Colorado "without which the doubt still continues and no conclusion is reached."

Now come some devastating arguments contained in point four.—Against Consag we have the arguments of the most exact explorers, who say California is an island, and who have pointed out all the "caples, points, bays, ports, coves, and islands which mark the coasts of New Spain." This was exactly what Consag had done more thoroughly than anyone else before him on that coast. These explorers say (again one wonders who they are) that "esta Ysla" extends to latitude sixteen which is the "cavo de fortunas." They have named all the places of the coast of California and the islands "que ay en aquel canal" and the bays which lie in the same latitude and they have measured the distances between them. "To neutralize [such evidence] entirely demands the greatest knowledge of those coasts and in this matter there is not the slightest argument of a nature to shake this certitude and to pretend that a new discovery has been made."

The refuters continue. Consag should have explored the whole coast line from the Cabo de San Lucas all the way up, for this would have added to our knowledge not only of the coast, but of the country, of the natives, and the possibility of forming colonies. The padre, they say, gave superficial accounts of the ports and of the natives; he should have been more detailed. But then they wind up on a note of generosity. "This [deficiency] and the fact that [Consag] left in suspense or undetermined in our opinion the principal point does not diminish the praise which we should attribute to Consag, since in the remainder of his narrative he discharges his task with *all imaginable exactness*. . . . [emphasis added]." The further exploration of those coasts should be taken in hand "and then there would be obtained at this late date the

decision as to whether California is an island or a peninsula and the knowledge which would follow from all of that."

Thus ends the documents. These two observers of the king just as Venegas and Velarde before them had allowed themselves to be pushed by their conservative attitude into an obscure corner of unrealism. They write very much as novices. They seem not at all familiar with what had taken place in New Spain geographically. They did not know that Jesuit missionaries had been tramping and exploring all over the barren peninsula and had been examining its coasts now for half a century. Nobody knew the California natives as did the missionaries and the fitness or unfitness of the country for colonization. Repeated reports on these matters had been sent to kings and viceroys and Jesuit provincials. Venegas knew well these documents for he had studied them and reported upon them, even if his confrères of the north, Campos and Velarde, did not. Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa seem to have written their refutation within a vacuity of the knowledge necessary to write at all. Still, we cannot be too hard on them when we realize that Mexican Jesuits themselves, including even Venegas, and Jesuit provincials, and moreover northern missionaries, did not until Consag's time accept the fact that California is a peninsula.

Up on the Sonoran frontier Consag's confirmation of previous discoveries was immediately accepted. We have seen how missionary Sedelmayr had now shed his doubts. The viceregal court too accepted the findings, for in a set of instructions sent in 1749 to Don Diego Ortiz Parilla we have the following: "The orders of the king have not been fulfilled so that the natives who live in the intermediate lands where California joins itself with the northern territory of Pimería Alta can only entertain the hope" that missionaries will be sent them.⁵⁸

Truth slowly prevailed. Published maps which in the sixteenth century had made California a peninsula and in the following century an island, remade it into a peninsula in the eighteenth, the century of Kino, Ugarte, and Consag. De Fer's map of California and New Mexico, which Wagner considers "The first map to show the Kino discoveries," came out as early as 1700. Written along the length of the sketched peninsula are the words: "Californias

⁵⁸ Instrucciones que en virtud de superior orden remitió el licenciado Don José Gallardo al teniente coronel Don Diego Ortiz Parilla, electo gobernador y capitán general de la gobernación de Sonora, año de 1749. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, ser. III, 909.

ó Carolinas.”⁵⁹ In spite of this, King Louis XIV in 1706 issued a charter in favor of one, Danyean, to plant a colony on the “Island of California” as a center of French trade in the Pacific.⁶⁰ Still improvement of knowledge continued. The 1730 edition of Herrera, *Descripción de las Indias Occidentales*, shows California a peninsula in the map inserted between pages two and three of volume one. In the mid-century (1749) appeared in France a map drawn by “les Srs. Sanson,” geographers for the King, and engraved by Delaye.⁶¹ California here is correctly shown.

Antonio Maria Benz, Bavarian missionary to Sonora, left Germany in 1749 and sailed for Cádiz in 1750. Eleven of his letters have been preserved. In one of these, written to his parents from the Puerto de Santa María in September, 1749, he gives a long extract from one of the unpublished reports of Jacobo Sedelmayr, Jesuit missionary and explorer in northern Mexico. Then Benz adds significantly that Sedelmayr reported in another letter, which he has not seen, that the explorer “travelled north to the boundaries of California and is not supposed to have discovered (what heretofore was not known) that this vast land is no island which formerly was believed by so many, but towards the northwest beyond the Colorado River it is connected with the mainland and probably with Florida.”⁶²

Three years later two other well-known French geographers, Joseph Nicholas Delisle and Philippe Bauche, made a map drawn from the apocryphal accounts of L'Amiral de Fonte and of Juan de Fuca. “Though this piece is one of the most astonishing examples of imaginary geography which has ever appeared,” it does make Lower California a peninsula.⁶³ The “Mapa de la America Septentl. Asia Oriental y Mar del Sur” which came out in Madrid in 1754 likewise draws the peninsula. It is evidently based upon the piece of Delisle and Bauche and may be found at the end of volume three of the Burriel-Venegas. One look at either of these shows geographical fancy running humorously wild.

Burriel had made his own map of the world which some censor

⁵⁹ Wagner, *Some Imaginary California Geography*, 42, plate VIII.

⁶⁰ Stephens and Bolton, *The Pacific Ocean in History*, 29.

⁶¹ Reproduced in Vera Brown Holmes, *A History of the Americas*, New York, 1950, 384.

⁶² This and other letters may be found as transcripts in the Bancroft Library among the AGI collection. The originals are, or were, in Munich, *Hauptstaatsarchiv, Jesuitica*, no. 294.

⁶³ Henry R. Wagner, *Apocryphal Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America*, Worcester, 1931, 29 f. where the piece is reproduced.

or editor in Madrid (perhaps Father Altamirano) rejected in order to insert this circus curio. Burriel complainingly protested, for his text was based upon his own map and not upon this museum specimen whose names and places did not fit the text.⁶⁴ But it does not make California a peninsula. Then there is the Pierre Mortier piece and a second Delisle map of North America. These likewise show California to be a peninsula.⁶⁵

Twenty-three years after Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa returned to Spain and sat down to write their fantastic refutation of Consag's log the able *Visitador General* of King Charles III, José de Gálvez, organized the historic expeditions by land and sea north from Baja to Alta California. Now at long last the spell of California's fabled insularity was broken. Antonio de Ulloa lived on to an old age, his demise taking place only in July, 1795. Doubtless like many mortals who possess a bit of humility and enjoy a grain of humor he had many a smile over his erroneous opinions concerning California and especially, we hope over the curiously spun phantasies contained in his refutation of black-robed explorer Consag.

PETER MASTEN DUNNE, S.J.

University of San Francisco

⁶⁴ Uriarte, *Obras Anonymas*, no. 1331.

⁶⁵ Wagner, *Apocryphal Voyages*, 31 and 33, prints these.

Book Reviews

Lincoln Finds a General, A Military Study of the Civil War. By Kenneth P. Williams. Vol. 3. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1952. Pp. 585, Illustrations, maps. \$7.50.

Three years ago Kenneth P. Williams, professor of mathematics at Indiana University, brought out the first two volumes of the most controversial, most refreshing military history of the Civil War that has appeared in many years. (MID-AMERICA, April, 1950.) Despite the title, neither Lincoln nor Grant, the general whom the President was destined to find in the end, played parts of consequence in this first installment. Instead, Williams devoted these volumes to the war in the East, demolishing completely McClellan's claims to competence, rehabilitating to a degree the reputation of John Pope, and even intimating—worst of all offenses—that Lee and Jackson had their lapses. At the end of Volume II (Gettysburg) the stage was set for the appearance of Grant.

Volume III, now published, is the story of Grant from the beginning of the war to the Summer of 1862. In the main, the book is concerned with the battles of Belmont, Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, and Shiloh. Only in the case of Shiloh does Williams depart radically from the orthodox accounts. While almost all previous writers have either charged or denied that Grant was caught napping by Johnston's early morning attack, Williams never even raises the question. Grant, he admits, did not expect the full attack until the next day, but he was prepared for it when it came, and his army went into action smoothly. The battle, of course, was murderous, and a narrow victory for the Union army, but when forces are as evenly matched as they were at Shiloh, bungling at the top is not rewarded with success.

Williams' judgments of other commanders are somewhat less sharp in this volume than in its predecessors. Pope is given the credit that was his due before he made an ass of himself in the East, and Halleck comes out rather better than usual, doubtless because Williams refuses to judge his course in the West in the light of his later career in Washington. Buell is pictured as the least competent of the principal commanders, in his excessive caution and inability to foresee and overcome inevitable difficulties the complete opposite of the conqueror of Donelson.

In this volume Williams continues to place his principal reliance on the *Official Records*, but he is thoroughly conversant with the literature of the war and uses it effectively. Documentation is thorough, and footnotes are often so pithy that one wishes they had not been banished to the back of the book. (When, oh Lord, are publishers going to escape from their absurd delusion that footnotes at the bottom of the page irritate readers?)

One more volume, perhaps two, will be required to complete Grant's story. The reader who has followed it so far can have no doubt that Williams will carry it through triumphantly, and that the result will be a major contribution to American historical writing.

PAUL M. ANGLE

Chicago Historical Society

Black Robes in Lower California. By Peter Masten Dunne, S.J. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press. Pp. 540. Twelve illustrations and one large map. \$6.50.

Father Dunne, who has already established himself as the historian of Black Robe missionary enterprise in New Spain, with this work adds another segment to the Jesuit story. Last in time of foundation among the Jesuit mission fields in colonial Spanish North America, the Lower California venture is one of the most interesting and, without much question, the most challenging of their multiple attempts to bring God and civilization to the native Americans. No area of all the Americans was less inviting naturally and no Indians less attractive than the backward naked inhabitants of the peninsula. The results of seventy years of expenditure of energy, devotion, and on occasion even lifeblood, were not outstanding nor were they humanly consoling, but the story of those decades is a grand epic in mission annals. Lower California and its Californians, one is inclined to conjecture, probably made saints of more padres than did more rewarding mission assignments.

Lower California had defied more than one hopeful conquistador and even a full dress colonization attempt or two before that day in 1697 when Italian-born Juan María Salvatierra, with fierce determination in his heart, disembarked on its rugged shore with three Christian Indian helpers and a dozen Spanish soldiers and sailors. During the next seventy years great Black Robes wrote their names large in the California story—Francisco María Pícolo, Juan de Ugarte, Jaime Bravo, Sigismundo Taraval, Clemente Guillén, Fernando Consag, one of the many North Europeans to work in the peninsula missions. During those seventy years, amid almost impossible difficulties, the making of nature both physical and human, these men and their fellows built and served seventeen missions, brought a fuller life, spiritual and temporal, to thousands of Indians, explored the whole of the peninsula, and in general proved that California could be conquered. The decree of banishment from the Americas, published against the Spanish Jesuits in 1767 by Charles III, brought the Jesuit phase of the story to an abrupt close. It did not end there, for Franciscans first and then Dominicans sought to carry on. Father Dunne does not cover these later years.

There are several unique aspects of the Lower California venture which have their special interest. To finance the enterprise the Jesuits from the

beginning were rather definitely on their own. The Crown gave little more than a grudging permission to undertake the work and, contrary to more general practice, almost no financial support. In the pages of the work one learns of the origins and early history of that famous Pious Fund which at a later date attracted some little international attention. Again, on the peninsula the Jesuit superior, besides being the master of his fellow religious, was also the "commander" of the Spanish soldiery attached to the peninsular garrisons, making for a curious, though not always harmonious, relationship between the spiritual and the temporal.

In the present work Father Dunne, acknowledging in his Preface certain of the criticisms leveled at his earlier works on the mainland missions, takes great pains to indicate the institutional and cultural impact of the mission effort on the natives and to explain, but not necessarily to excuse, certain of the developments which have been judged unfortunate. In this task he succeeds very well, in what this reviewer feels to be the best to date of his mission studies.

JOHN FRANCIS BANNON

Saint Louis University

Bartolomé de Las Casas, Historian. By Lewis Hanke. University of Florida Press, Gainesville, 1952. Pp. 125. \$3.75.

In 1566 when death came to the ninety-two year old veteran of Spanish-American enterprise, his huge manuscript *Historia de las Indias* was left as a heritage. From 1547, when Las Casas resigned his bishopric in Guatemala and returned to his cell in Valladolid, history was his life. As advocate of the American natives' rights and advisor of the crown, he amassed a monumental collection of documentary evidence for the crowning labor of his career. His *Historia* was written "To describe the number and greatness of the admirable and prodigious achievements of Spain in the Indies, which surpassed the work of all previous time, to the end that future generations may be stimulated to imitate the good deeds accomplished and to fear to repeat the evil done."

This Grecian view of history caused him to read the range of classic writings, the better to fulfill his overmastering ambition. Two assistants worked with him daily to conduct his wide correspondence and arrange his materials. Officials forbade publication of works that ran contrary to his opinion. He felt that he surpassed all in knowledge of his subject, a thought which buttressed his determination to finish despite his great age. He is still an authority on American history from Columbus to Cortés.

At the core is the story of Cuba to 1520, in which Las Casas took an active part. In 1514 he changed his whole career from that of priest-encomendero to defender of the Indians. The fire of his decision led him to store up every proof for his firm commitment. His bent of mind capably

clarified issues and sought solutions. He entered the Dominican Order in 1522, wherein his fluency coupled with religious living and calm surroundings came to fruition. He began his project in 1527 in a monastery in Hispaniola and turned it over to his brethren in a monastery in Spain in 1566, with instructions not to publish it until forty years after his death. Three centuries passed before the great manuscript came out in print in the five-volume Madrid edition of 1875. Not until 1951 did it become definitively enshrined in the Mexican edition of Augustín Milares Carlo.

The little book of Hanke is an English translation of the preface of the Mexican edition. Hanke is well-equipped to discuss Las Casas. After a short biography of its author, he surveys the various manuscripts of the book, the travels of the original, the delay of printing, Las Casas's purpose, his sources and method, his style, and the interpretations of the work. A last word should point the contrast between the *Breve Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* of 1542 and the *Historia*. The former, frankly apologetic, was most damaging to the reputation of Spain. The latter the result of forty years of minute labor, is history. Even so, there is disagreement in evaluations of the work in view of apparent exaggerations and generalizations. But Hanke asks the reader to recall what Crane Brinton thought of Churchill's *Their Finest Hour*. Neither Las Casas nor Churchill held that the historian must suppress emotion or moral judgment.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

Xavier University, Ohio

On Freedom's Altar. The Martyr Complex in the Abolition Movement.
By Hazel Catherine Wolf. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison,
1952. Pp. 195. \$3.75.

The history of American reform and humanitarian movements is all too frequently written from the viewpoint of the reformers. Standards of objectivity demanded by historians of political life are often discarded by students of social reform. *On Freedom's Altar* is an admirable departure from this practice. Miss Wolf does not, in her enthusiasm for her subject, become a crusading abolitionist; neither does she set out to "debunk" the movement and its heroes. With an admirable objectivity and clear, readable style she traces the story of the martyr complex in the abolitionist crusade.

The martyrs of abolitionism suffered persecution, imprisonment, and death for a secular cause: Some of the zealots gloried in and promoted their own martyrdom, although most of them did not deliberately exploit the idea. Some, like William Lloyd Garrison, preached and practiced non-resistance, while John Brown and his handful of followers urged violence

as a solution of the social evil, slavery. Brown's martyrdom became a symbol of Northern righteousness when the nation adopted his methods on a large scale.

The Civil War provided new opportunities to use the martyr concept as a propaganda device. Political abolitionism, no longer a movement of exclusively humanitarian motives, had long thrived on lurid stories of persecution and injustice. With the outbreak of war came stories of atrocities and horror of greater magnitude. Northern publicists circulated accounts in bloody detail of Southern barbarities practiced upon wounded Yankees, and propagandists repeated tales of hellish existence in Southern military prisons. These and similar war experiences formed a part of the fabric from which the new martyr legend was woven. The martyr tradition gained fresh momentum with the assassination of President Lincoln and the political exploitation of his death by post-war Radical Republican politicians.

Although she made use of recent scholarly findings Miss Wolf based her work mainly on the writings and utterances of the abolitionists themselves. Her research led to a fresh interpretation and she wisely restricted herself to the story of martyrdom in the abolitionist movement. The foot-notes are provided in the back of the book along with a useful bibliography. The volume makes a real contribution to the growing body of historical literature on abolitionism and its new approach is suggestive of further research in similar areas.

LARRY GARA

The University of Wisconsin

The Siberian Fiasco. By Clarence A. Manning. Library Publishers, New York, 1952. Pp. 210. \$3.75.

The *Siberian Fiasco* is not a product of archival, much less of multi-archival, research. In view of its serious bibliographical deficiencies it is not surprising that it contains nothing that can not readily be found in Graves, *America's Siberian Adventure* (1931), Tompkin's, *American-Russian Relations in the Far East* (1949), or White's *The Siberian Intervention* (1950). Of Manning's monograph it may appropriately be said that if it had not been written it would not have been necessary to write it.

Professor Manning's conclusion is identical with that of the authors cited above: the sole achievement of American intervention in the Far East from August 1918 until April 1920 was to prevent Japanese expansion in Siberia and thereby save its maritime provinces for the ruthless rule of Red Russia.

The *Siberian Fiasco* does point up the fact that "State" was as much of a "foggy bottom" in 1918 as regards a Far Eastern policy for the United

States as it was from Hull to Acheson. Roosevelt and Hull repeated the mistake of Wilson and Lansing; they became so frightened over a rising Japan that they foolishly forgot the menace to world civilization inherent in Marxian Bolshevism.

The responsibility of F. D. R. and Mr. Hull is the greater however, for they, as Professor Tansill documents in his *Back Door To War*, had the advantage of repeated cablegrams from Bishop Walsh and his Maryknoll missionaries in China and Japan. These advices, pleading for an observation of absolute neutrality on the part of the United States in the War between China and Japan, continued from 1937 until Pearl Harbor.

The Protestant *Christian Century* echoed the sentiments of the Maryknoll priests on October 20, 1937, when it warned that if America went to war on behalf of China the result would be a victory for Russia.

HERBERT J. CLANCY

Canisius College

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Herbert E. Bolton

When news of the death of Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton flashed across the nation and beyond to foreign lands, recollections of a great master came to the minds of thousands of his confreres, his former students, his reading public, and his friends. To these Bolton is a American institution. During four decades he has been a core of thought around which has clustered a large progeny of scholarly men and women who have entrusted their early training in history to his masterful guidance. To these his unbounded energy, his fine character, his patient and delicate tutelage, his broad-visioned scholarliness, have been ever-present ideals. In college halls and in his many books Bolton has ever been a fearless proponent of the truth. Bolton as an American institution will continue to live in his progeny, familiarly known as "the Bolton school."

Herbert E. Bolton was born on July 20, 1880, in Wilton, a small town in central Wisconsin, midway between the Mississippi and the Wisconsin Rivers. In his tender years he learned of a religious tolerance that became his so abundantly. As he told it, he and his schoolmates had been warned not to go near the Catholic church, because a man in black with horns might catch them. One day young Herbert decided to run past this fearsome place and its iron fence. To his dismay he found himself completely out of breath, hanging on the iron pickets with half the distance yet to go. What was worse, in the yard was the man in the black robe, but without horns, and reading a book. The man smiled, said "hello," and went on reading. In the days to come Herbert stopped at the fence to pass the time of day chatting with the man in black. The writings and the deeds of religious men in robes, black, brown, and gray, later occupied many years of his precious time. Prejudice had been wrung from Bolton forever.

Bolton found his future at the University of Wisconsin. Matriculating there in 1893, he received his bachelor of laws degree in 1895. The legal profession, however, lost a budding lawyer when Bolton met Frederick Jackson Turner in a history course. The vocation of an historian came to him. After his graduation he married Gertrude Janes. His course in life was set. In 1896 he entered upon his graduate studies under Turner in a seminar with Carl Becker and Guy Stanton Ford. Each of these three students at the "round table" later was honored with the presidency of the American Historical Association. When Bolton had completed his training under Turner, Richard T. Ely, and Charles Homer Haskins, he won a prized Harrison fellowship at the University of Pennsylvania. There, directed by John Bach McMaster, Bolton completed his post-graduate studies from 1897 to 1899, when the doctoral degree was conferred upon him.

His teaching experience began in the autumn of 1899 in Milwaukee State Normal School. In 1901 the Boltons were off to the University of Texas, where he was instructor in medieval history. Too far from research materials such as he had become acquainted with at Pennsylvania under Edward P. Cheyney and Dana C. Munro, he was refreshingly close to the raw materials for Spanish American history. The spirit of the Spanish borderlands and their wealth of history caught him. He learned Spanish and went each summer to Mexico in quest of documents. In July, 1902, his first attempt at historical writing appeared in the *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly*—two printed pages on " 'De los Mapas'." From that year until 1940, at least one article or book came from his pen each year, except for the years 1923 and 1938 when he was engaged in longer projects. During these years at Texas his family increased and ultimately grew to be one son and six daughters.

Probably no historian had done as much archival and field work as Bolton. He opened bundles of manuscripts to the number of a million in some sixty larger archives and many provincial, local, mission, and parochial depositories. He travelled untold thousands of miles by every known mode of locomotion in his European and Western Hemisphere quests. He became acquainted with many Catholic priests, prelates, friars, monks, monasteries, rectories, and mission ruins. He developed a keen appreciation of the Catholic contribution to the Americas. In the cases of Fathers Kino, Garcés, Serra, and Escalante, Bolton followed in their every step, just as he did for De Mézières, Portolá, and Anza.

Even though he published guides to the materials in different archives, he kept the locale of many later finds in a pigeon-hole of his vast memory. An instance of his love and care of documents and of his memory of them comes to mind. Father Zepherin Engelhardt, the great Franciscan historian, was appointed to the task of collecting data for the introduction of the cause of canonization of Fray Margil de Jesús, famed for his life of sanctity from Guatemala to Texas and founder of the Texas chain of missions. Father Engelhardt sought out Bolton for help and direction. Bolton promptly informed him that the process had already been begun. The surprised father was then told to go to Natchitoches, to a certain house, to a storeroom, and there he would find a box of papers wrapped in heavy paper. These would be the depositions taken up to 1885 for Margil's cause. When Father Engelhardt asked how he knew this, Bolton replied: "I gathered them and put them there."

His honesty with respect to documents and their use was proverbial. The case of his refusal to purchase for the Bancroft Library the nineteen letters of Kino to the Duchess, because the book agent would not reveal the name of his client, is probably well known. Bolton knew the real owner. But in another instance he purchased some manuscript annual letters of the Jesuits, which he knew had been filched from an archive. These he had photostated. Then he mailed the originals to their proper owner.

While on a tour of Mexican archives for the Carnegie Institution in 1917, seeking the items for the *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principle Archives of Mexico*, Bolton discovered the priceless manuscript, the "Favores Celestiales" of Father Kino. His study of the life of Kino and his enthusiasm for the Jesuit pioneer became a byword, and incidentally, led students at times to address their professor as "Father Bolton." The biography of Father Kino, appearing under a typically Boltonian title, *Rim of Christendom*, ranks high in the list of fine historical literature.

From 1909 to 1911 Bolton held the chair of American history at Stanford University. At the end of that term, Texas wanted him to return to be professor of Latin American history, while the University of California offered him the chair of American History at Berkeley. He accepted the latter office on July 1, 1911. In 1916 he was appointed Director of the Bancroft Library and in 1919 he succeeded Henry Morse Stephens as chairman of the

history department. In these capacities he brought renown to the University of California until 1940, when the law said that he must retire. Since an institution cannot be retired Bolton continued to bring renown to California as an emeritus both in his public services, and in his writings.

It is much easier to continue writing about Bolton than it is to stop. As is customary with men of major stature and wide achievements many tales and legends, many incidents illustrative of the principles underlying his strength of character could be narrated. There are very few students of his who did not take away with them some personal memento of their association with Bolton. Someone is bound to produce Bolton's biography, and very probably several are already thinking of doing so. After all, he has directed more than a hundred candidates for the doctorate in history and more than five hundred toward the master's degree.

Among other teaching religious bodies the Jesuits will ever feel a debt of gratitude to Bolton for the stimulus and aid which he gave to the study of missionary beginnings in the Americas and for the courage with which he promoted a cause not generally approved. His famous essay, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution," expressed a framework of research, whose implementation by Catholics and non-Catholics has been in progress these past thirty years. Five Jesuit fathers wrote doctoral dissertations under Bolton's direction. More, Bolton begged an initial sum to begin the publication of books on the mission advance up the Pacific Slope. He saw as a goal some three hundred volumes of documentary publications. His concept of an institute of writers striving toward this objective has been in effect since his address in 1936 inaugurating the Institute of Jesuit History at Loyola University of Chicago. Aroused by Bolton's proddings similar institutes have been organized here and abroad by the Jesuits, the Dominicans, and more recently by the Franciscans in their Institute of Franciscan Studies at Washington.

At times when gratitude was expressed to Bolton for what he had done by his interest in the early men of the cross, his reply was as characteristic as it was generous: "Thank me? I have more thanks to give to the early padres for what they wrote. Suppose they had not come to the Americas, and suppose they had not written their observations and their histories—where would we pagans be?" Still, appreciation of his work came to Professor Bolton in 1949 when he was made a Knight of St. Sylvester by Pius XII for his outstanding research in Church history.

Bolton's contribution to historical literature is monumental, to be sure. The broader analysis of the "six foot shelf" of his writings reveals a major escape from provincialism into the realm of "peripheral history" and the extension of the American periphery to the western hemisphere. His gateway to our beginnings was not opened by the settlers of the thirteen "original" colonies. The approach to the New World was by way of the Caribbean and Mexico, as was indicated in *The Colonization of North America* and in his classic, *The Spanish Borderlands*. The periphery of American history was logically extended through the borderlands, until America became *The Americas* and the history of the nations of the Americas became "The Epic of Greater America."

The cogency and force of this concept of American unity as expressed by Bolton in his presidential address to the American Historical Association at Toronto in 1932, became apparent at the adoption of the "Good Neighbor" policy, even though his essay occasioned various sentiments of puzzlement, hostility, or even insult. Some narrower minds saw politics where Bolton's vision of an inevitable Organization of American State transcended local or private interests and prejudices. The idea of hemispheric solidarity, his *Wider Horizons of American History*, made a slow and eventually a bloody entrance among the "orthodox historians," though Bolton's students had been accepting it and proclaiming it in their lectures for a quarter of a century. Witness to this is, what was heart-cheering to him in 1945, *Greater America, Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton*. In view of Bolton's prognosis of the evolution of American history and the inevitable structure of our foreign policy toward the other republics of the hemisphere, it was quite appropriate that the Department of State should ask him to give the key address in November, 1939, at the meeting called in Washington for the purpose of implementing the program of cultural relations in the Americas. Other honors and awards which he received are too many to mention.

Much could be said of the underlying principles which revealed themselves in Bolton's force of character. His singleness of purpose manifested itself in a habit of failing to answer personal mail, at which no one seemed to take umbrage, and in filing communications atop his desk in chronological "order." His common sense, or "horse sense" as he called it, was exceptional. His exacting attention to details had none of the myopia usually attributed to scholars. He appeared to have an inborn aversion to be associated with or in-

volved in such politics or jealousies as distract the attention of sundry staff members of educational institutions. He could be serious, never dour, and was possessed of a fine sense of humor.

While these characteristics were rather patent to many of Bolton's colleagues, a few were aware of an unusual quality—a natural reverence. He had a reverence for documents and for persons of the past who spoke from the old manuscript pages. He had a reverence for the people of whom he wrote, whose good deeds he praised and whose faults and foibles he told with human understanding. Though ever the impartial witness to the truth, his pen seemed heavier when evil had to be recorded. Bolton approached each day's work with reverence and by his example instilled in the minds of students a respect for their fellow men and for the institutions of the present and past. For these reasons Bolton came to be revered as a scholar, as a teacher, and as a friend.

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Nentuig's "Description of Sonora"

Investigators interested in the history of Sonora, Mexico, find an intriguing manuscript entitled: "Descripción Geográfica natural y curiosa de la Provincia de Sonora."¹ From its title page one learns that its author was "a friend in the service of the Lord," but throughout the text he carefully avoids making statements that would give a clue as to his identity. The knowledge displayed of the missions, the names of the superiors, rectorships, and missionaries, as well as of the distances between *pueblos* which the author visited, was information not then of easy access to any layman, and gives immediate prominence to the supposition that a member of the Society of Jesus was the author of said "Descripción." The next point in question is the date in which it was written, for it is variously designated as 1762, 1763, or 1764.

Close study of Chapter VII, part II, page 118, of the manuscript, discloses that the rectorate of the Three Holy Martyrs of Japan had its seat at Guásavas, Sonora, where Father Juan Nentuig was in charge of this and several *visitas*. At Guásavas, according to this history, travelers found it necessary to stop over and accept the hospitality of its rector who asserted that not even in the Tarahumara country had he seen a worse road in one stretch than that from Mátape to Bacadéhuachi; therefore, the "Descripción" admonishes "that in order to escape the fiery heat of the mid-day sun, to withstand the hardship of climbing and descending mountain slopes, walking along declivities and precipices, it was necessary to *lop off* the journey at frequent intervals. And . . . because I know that of this mission and its surroundings no one has written until now, as I am aware has been done of the others, we shall proceed leisurely with its description."

Who else but the missionary would have known as much? On page 120 of the manuscript is the detailed account of how twenty men from Guásavas were assaulted by a band of Apache Indians "and after fighting all the afternoon the latter retired, quite chagrined, because a smaller number of *our* men should have dared to

¹ The manuscript in the Archivo General de la Nación is written on 186 leaves, folio, *Ramo de Historia*, tomo 393.

make a stand against their greater number." Perhaps these and other less pointed remarks caused Bolton to state: "Internal evidence makes it appear that the author was Father Juan Nentuig, missionary at Guásavas."²

Buckingham Smith published the manuscript under the title *Rudo Ensayo . . . Descripción geográfica de la Provincia de Sonora* at San Augustine, Florida, in 1863, but apparently was not convinced of its authorship, except that the writer was a missionary. In the foreword Smith says: "The name of the writer of this Essay is not disclosed; our knowledge of him being limited to what may be gathered from his own discourse, such as that he was a Missionary, and wrote, it would seem, by request, in the years 1761-62, having lived at that time eleven years in the Province of Sonora in intimate association with the nation of which he particularly writes, the Opatas."

Those who have made a study of Sonora and of the activities of the Jesuits within the province have been inclined to accept the essay as having been written by a Jesuit. They also agree that the members of the Order—seldom over 25—were so busy ministering to such a large territory, that whoever wrote it, did so only because of a command. Father Decorme³ assumes that Nentuig was the author and admits having obtained his information from the English translation by the Cuban Eusebio Guitéras, who offered no proof of the authorship at all. In addition, Father Nentuig does not admit having witnessed the martyrdom of Father Saeta as stated in the same volume, page 474, footnote 13, nor the slaying of Father Pedro Tomás Tello in Caborca, or Enrique Rhuen at Sonóita, both of which occurred during the Pima revolt of 1751⁴. To scholars of the Spanish language the manuscript presents much evidence that it was not written by a Spaniard and it is to be doubted that the original was corrected or even in the hands of Father Aguirre.

In the assumption that Father Nentuig was the author a search was instituted for specimens of his handwriting in letters and record books. During the month of February of 1950 definite proof was obtained in the form of a docket of letters found in the Archivo

² Herbert E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, New York, 1936, 622.

³ Gerardo Decorme, S.J., *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos durante la época colonial, 1572-1767*, Mexico City, 1941, Tomo II, 461.

⁴ On this revolt and the part played by Nentuig, see Russell Ewing, "The Pima Uprising of 1751," in *Greater America, Essays in Honor of Herbert E. Bolton*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945, 259-280.

Histórico de Hacienda, Sección de Temporalidades, Legajo 17-24, containing not nine letters as the cover indicates, but eleven from Father Nentuig to the Provincial in Mexico City, in which the missionary, too humble to affix his name to the "Descripción," found it necessary to admit to his superior that he was the author of the historical account in question. Furthermore, taking into consideration the vastness of the territory each missionary had to cover, manage and provide for, both physically and spiritually, this investigator concludes that extra-curricular activities could not have been undertaken voluntarily by the overworked ministers of the faith and that the "Descripción" was written in obedience to orders.

On October 6, 1760, Don Joaquín de Montserrat, Marqués de Cruillas, had taken charge of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. From the excerpt that follows, taken from a letter dated July 15, 1764, written by Nentuig and addressed to the Viceroy, one is led to believe that he might have been the originator of the idea, and quite likely the one who ordered the description to be written. "I do not doubt," says Father Nentuig, "that by this time Your Excellency has in his possession the papers carried by the deceased Sr. Tienda de Cuervo, among which were the *materials ordered for a geographic description of Sonora*, and in its final chapter Your Excellency will find what I believe, and have always thought necessary to subdue and chastise our enemies."⁵ Don José Tienda de Cuervo had been Governor and Captain-General of the Province of Sonora and Sinaloa from January 16, 1761, until December 9, 1762, and should have arrived in Mexico City the early part of the year 1763. At this point it is necessary to digress a bit and theorize upon the events taking place in Mexico City which might have prevented the deliverance by Tienda de Cuervo of the papers which he carried for the viceroy.

Spain had declared war against Great Britain and during the month of June, 1762, the port of Havana, Cuba, had been captured by the British.⁶ There were good reasons to expect an attack on Vera Cruz and the viceroy hastened there to provide for its defense, remaining there at least for the first half of the year 1763, and taking every possible measure to meet the impending attack. It was only natural that Tienda de Cuervo would follow him there and while in that insalubrious seaport, the ex-governor of Sonora

⁵ Italics inserted.

⁶ Andrés Cavo, *Tres Siglos en México*, Mexico, 1852, 143, says that the capture of Havana took place on August 13, 1762.

died at an unrecorded date and apparently without delivering the "Descripción" that he carried.

The enemies of whom Nentuig alludes were the Seri, Pima, and Apache Indians, and true enough, in chapter IX, part IV of the manuscript the missionary writes:

"I do not deny that the enemies who are destroying and annihilating this province are a punishment from God and a lash from His merciful hand, for such are the teachings as found in the Holy Scripture as well as in Ecclesiastical and worldly Histories. . . .

And broaching the subject of this section, I shall speak first on what pertains to the Seris, and it seems to me that the only remedy which my reasoning finds, is to remove them from our midst, so completely, that not one of them should remain in this their own country. . . .

I feel the same about their confederates, the Pimas, of whose subduing there is as little hope as that of the Seris, because they have again become accustomed to their wild and barbarous life, having been at it for eleven years, committed the same crimes, even more enormous ones, than the Seris. . . .

As to repressing and humbling the pride of the other very bold enemy of Sonora, the Apache, as long as the King our Lord does not will to send additional succor of men with appropriate weapons, I feel that our raids into their country do not serve to bring about relief to the land, but rather do much harm. . . .

. . . . while we find ourselves with five Royal Presidios and so many residents and faithful Indians, it is not reasonable to remain content with our prayers and await to be freed by miracles; this would be tempting God, who in His Majesty, would want that effect should follow causes, and so, we should implore assistance from God, but at the same time, use our hands; the one will not be of any avail without the other."

It is evident that Nentuig, disappointed by the worthlessness and deceitfulness of the natives, was also disheartened by the behavior of the Spanish troops, who oftentimes, claiming inconvenience, returned to the forts without having attacked the common enemy; and, as several historians well put it, this manly priest favored praying as well as wielding the sword!

However, Nentuig, writing the very next day, has this to say:

"My beloved Father Provincial Francisco Zeballos, + P. C.

I have just replied to a letter from his excellency the viceroy dated the 19th of May [1764] in which he asks me for a map of

this Province. I had one left, identical to the one carried by the deceased Tienda de Cuervo, but not so well finished. As the viceroy's request demanded promptness, I sent it as it was; because of my poor vision and without eye-glasses to improve it, I would have blurred the map if I had tried to amend it.

I attempted to make this fact known to his excellency, but not being familiar with court etiquette or with the style used by such personages, I fear that unknowingly, I might have committed some error and displeased his excellency, made worse by my refusal to give him information about the latest incidents with our enemies, although I did say that day by day, in spite of the precautions taken by the governor, the Seri and Apache Indians are gaining upon us, the former having killed nine soldiers at Aigame, matters upon which, I did not doubt, your reverence would inform him more thoroughly.

I did not have anything worth-while to call to your excellency's attention, although I had heard that the governor had issued orders to the captain and his soldiers of Fronteras to attack the Seris and Pimas at Cerro Prieto; this had not been communicated to your excellency as I did not know of it with certainty and because, having so many affected with smallpox to whom to attend, I cannot occupy myself obtaining news. Father Och, who because of his hernia, left Baserac on orders from the Father Visitor, is now at this mission waiting an easier assignment; were it not for his presence here, I do not know how I could care for so many, as in this *pueblo de visita* I have more than sixty patients, and in Guásavas, eleven leagues distant, Father Och is attending physically and spiritually to an equal number. Without such care most of the afflicted would die.

The reply to the viceroy was written by Father Och as his penmanship is very good, thus I avoided vexing his excellency with my scribbling; I make this known to your reverence so that in case I have offended the viceroy, you might excuse my coarseness by sending someone for the purpose. I also beg of your reverence to instruct me on what to do if in the future similar information be requested and which we have been forbidden to impart; I do not wish to take on another's work, trampling over statutes and precepts, even though the law be interpreted in a less strict manner.

I would feel praiseful if your reverence enjoys good health; I, thanks to the Lord, am well. I remain, very obediently, praying to God that you be kept with us many years and on Whose Sacred

Sacraments I commit myself. Opotu, July 16, 1764. Signed: Juan Nentuig."

The letter does not end here; on the left margin of the page, in handwriting throughout the full length of the sheet, appears the following most interesting and valuable afterthought:

"P.D. I overlooked to mention that in order to better comply with the wishes of the viceroy, I cite the last chapter of the *Descripción de Sonora* without letting him know that I had written it, adding that he will find the expedients that I believe, and have always seemed to me the most apt to succeed in the chastisement and submission of the enemies of Sonora. If by chance said *Descripción* were not in the hands of the viceroy, your reverence could order that a copy be made from the one sent you sometime ago with Father Ignacio Lissassoayn of the portions which in your reverence's judgment should be seen by the viceroy, who seems disposed and doubtlessly might decide upon the needful urgent war."

From the above transcribed letter an important and pitiful fact comes to the fore, that Nentuig was unable to see well, and what was worse, in the environment in which he ministered, there was no possibility of obtaining eye-glasses that would help him. Apparently, this learned missionary was reluctant to admit that he was growing blind, but in his letter of April 13, 1767, a mere three months before the expulsion of the Jesuits, Nentuig notified the Provincial, Father Salvador Gándara, that he had been compelled to call to his side Father Ramón Sánchez who thenceforth would attend to the desk work and to the administration of the mission.

As to the precautions taken by the Governor of the Province, Lieutenant Colonel Juan Claudio de Pineda, these consisted of frequent but ineffectual raids to Cerro Prieto; he did organize the militia, and the captain from Fronteras to whom Nentuig refers may have been Lieutenant Juan José Bergosa, who at the time was temporarily in command of that fort. Pineda was the first official to institute bounties for Indian prisoners, dead or alive, fixing the prize at three *pesos* for each warrior and three hundred for each leader.

The Aigame, where the nine soldiers had been slain, was a *Real de Minas* located according to the "Descripción," page 184, fourteen leagues due West of Mátape. It was discovered in 1704 and was first named Nuestra Señora de la Purificación. During 1756 it was nearly wiped out by an Indian raid, and because of its mines was frequently besieged by marauding bands.

Last but not least important is the information pertaining to the "Descripción" itself from which one can deduce that at the time two copies existed: one sent to the Provincial by Father Lissassoayn, and one taken by Tienda de Cuervo; also, because of the reasons given previously, the ex-governor's copy must have been dated 1762. This has been a controversial point, and the manuscript in the Mexican archives clearly shows that on the Arabic numeral 2 there has been superimposed the figure 4. It is quite likely that the Provincial, whose copy was also dated 1762, passed it on to the viceroy, and in order to make it appear up to date, effected the change. More will be said about this later.

The next letter of Father Nentuig addressed to the Provincial Zeballos, in which he gives much valuable data pertaining to the Descripción reads:

"I have just received the very esteemed letter of November 15th [1764] in which your reverence embarrasses me by granting me more credit than I deserve; permit me to confess that my part in the formation of the map was limited to making a rough sketch; it was Father Bernardo Middendorff who drew and finished it so beautifully; therefore, if it has any merit, the credit should go to him.

The case [of drawing instruments?] which your reverence has reserved for me will not be of any use to me, because, due to fatigue and overwork, my eyesight is failing, and being 52 years old, it is useless to expect improvement. I appreciate your paternal kindness and beg of you to pass it on to someone better able to use it and more capable than I, for I have seen only five missions of Sinaloa and these of Sonora and the Pimería; therefore, I plead to your reverence to relieve me of the undertaking of making a map of these missions, for even if I were to cease in the administration of this one and dedicate all my time to visit all the others, it would be like painting a portrait of an individual whom one had never seen. I judge that because I am so inept at horseback riding, that my life would end before finishing the required task.

Pertaining to the Descripción de Sonora, as it had to be made ready in a very limited time, just before the departure of Sr. Tienda de Cuervo, it turned out to be a badly arranged work. It was written stealthily, during the heat of summer, when my health was not so good, lacking the necessary data which was requested from various individuals and who paid no attention to my demands. By the way, I fear that the copy entrusted to the governor has been taken to Spain by his widow, who will have it published there.

I would prefer that less credit be given me alone for the writing of such an important work as the History of this Province to which I would gladly dedicate my efforts to write in a more thorough manner, were it not for my endless occupations and the serious illness of Father Joseph Och, who since he left Baserac several months ago, has been completely paralyzed. He requires constant attention and has been so ill, that on three occasions he was administered the Holy Oils [Santos Oleos] and frequently has had the Most Holy Viaticum. It is heart-breaking to see him, so hopelessly afflicted, in this land, where there are no physicians, medicaments, or persons able to treat such a serious and deeply rooted ailment. On the other hand, it would be difficult and risky to move him out of here on a stretcher; for this reason, and because I would not have your reverence think that I resent taking care of him, I have not suggested he be moved out. Up to now I had not made his condition known, hoping that with the medicaments I was able to find and administer he would improve; but except for a miracle or his being carried to a place where he could receive expert care, I have lost hope. And to top it all, my blindness, has prevented me from touching my notes.

As Father Visitor Aguirre has been ill with stomach aches, vomiting, lack of appetite, sleepless nights, and evidently afflicted with melancholia hypochondriaca, it has been necessary to go to his aid. He seems to think that my experience, knowledge or ability qualifies me to draft his correspondence; I have protested, claiming more boldness than actual merit, and with misgivings I admit certain vanity in my bashfulness to refuse to do his bidding. I confess this to your reverence, for if there has been some error or mannerism which I could not conceal and that your reverence would recognize immediately as my own, that the fault be not attributed to his reverence but to me.

I fear that Father Aguirre's illness might turn into general paralysis, similar to that which now afflicts Father Och; he has, in the past, been unable to use his hands for a number of days, and even now, in a letter of his just received, he complains of this trouble.

I beg of your reverence that the favor that you wish to bestow upon me be that of commending me to Our Lord, for if He has chosen me as the instrument of His Blessedness in this Paramo ne predicando allis ipse reprobis efficiar. [Lest in preaching to others, I myself, become a castaway.]

I pray to Our Divine Majesty that He grant us the presence of

your reverence in our midst for many years to come. Guásavas, February 14, 1765. Jhs. Juan Nentuig."

Here again one finds corroborated the date in which the "Descripción de Sonora" was written, definitely fixed as the summer of 1762, just prior to the departure from Sonora of the Governor Tienda de Cuervo. While this letter relates how the "Descripción" was written, it leaves the researcher with one more obstacle to hurdle: the finding of the maps drawn by Fathers Middendorff and Nentuig. These seem to have become separated from the manuscript and to this day, if they exist, no one has associated them with the *Rudo Ensayo*.

Father Middendorff was one of a quartet of young Jesuits who left Würzburg on July 9, 1754, and was the custodian of the travel money. He arrived in Sonora during the month of September 1756 and Decorme credits him with the founding of a mission at Tucson, the 3rd of March, 1757.⁷ He was stationed at Movas, wrote a diary of the expulsion published by the *Katholischen Magazin und Gefangenschaft* in 1845, and while back in Germany died at an unrecorded date.

Father Joseph Och was another of the quartet leaving Würzburg who on the road from Mátape, near Ures, were suddenly surrounded by a yelling, whooping band of Indians, some mounted, some on foot, all brandishing bows and arrows causing the mules to run and the unsaddling of the Jesuits. "We saw at once that they were not enemies," writes Och, "but we were frightened nevertheless. . . ." The raid turned out to be a joke played upon them by the Swiss Jesuit, Father Philip Segesser.⁸ Och was then thirty-two years old and his first assignment was to San Ignacio to help Father Steiger who was old and feeble, and was finally stationed at Bacerac. Because of Nentuig's pleas he was removed to San Ignacio and from there to Mexico City where according to Treutlein he was confined to his bed with arthritis.⁹ He reached Spain about fifteen months earlier than the other Sonora Jesuits for he was in Mexico City when the decree of expulsion was made known, and again, quoting Treutlein, through fortitious circumstances, Father Och had been able to leave Spain for Germany, via Italy, during the month of June, 1768.¹⁰

⁷ Decorme, *La Obra*, II, 443.

⁸ Theodore Treutlein, *Pfefferkorn's Description of Sonora*, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1949, 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 8, note 12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

Father Och authored a work on Sonora which was published in Germany in 1809, thirty-six years after his demise.

Father Manuel Aguirre, a Spaniard, was born May 14, 1715, and on February 1765 was Jesuit Visitor to the Sonora Missions. He continued to be in poor health but was able to reach the village of Magdalena, Jalisco, where he died the 25th of September, 1768. The post of Visitor must have been assigned to Nentuig either during 1765 or 1766, because he, as such, appealed to the missionaries under his jurisdiction for material aid to be given to the military expedition that had been approved by the king in 1764 and decided upon by the War Council that had convened in Mexico City on December 22, 1766. In response to Nentuig's appeal dated probably February or March, 1767, the various Sonora Missions contributed 2,000 *quintales* of flour, 500 head of cattle, an equal number of horses and some cash. This donation, added to the \$288,744.77 collected in Mexico City and in the provinces of Oaxaca, Puebla, Durango and Veracruz, made the *Expedición de Sonora* possible. This armed movement is known in American histories as the Elizondo Expedition.

Father Juan Nentuig was born in Glatz, Silesia, on March 28, 1713. He entered the Society of Jesus, August 28, 1744, and was sent to Mexico in 1749. In the following year he was designated as a missionary to the Sonora area, where he remained for seventeen years. When in the night between July 14 and 15, 1767, he was notified of the summary order for the expulsion of the Jesuits, as acting superior of the Sonora and Sinaloa missions, Nentuig followed the orders of the military commander and called his brethren to Mátape. It was from this place that on August 25, 1767, the small band of missionaries set out for the seaport of Guaymas on the Gulf of California. There they waited nine months, poorly housed and depending upon public charity for their sustenance. On May 20, 1768, they were herded into a filthy barge, and after forty-eight days on the voyage were disembarked at Matanchel. Thence the painful trek across the continent was begun. In the king's name each missionary had been despoiled of all of his belongings, except his breviary and, in isolated instances, a few historical notes. On this journey to Vera Cruz the stout soul of Father Nentuig left its mortal abode at Ixtlán, Nayarit, on September 11, 1768.

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British Travel Writers and the Jesuits

The present paper found its origin in a paradox. To the average Englishman, from the late sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, the typical Jesuit was akin to Thackeray's Mr. Holt, a schemer most to be feared, educated, loyal to his Church, master of intrigue and sophistry, willing to use his tongue, pen, or pistol to obtain his ends, and more dangerous because of his friendly manner. England's fear and hatred of Jesuits is evident from the literature of the centuries and from the number of them put to death at Tyburn.

Over and against these popular sentiments there is a whole block of English literature unstintingly praising Jesuit writers without regard for nationality or beliefs. These Jesuits were lauded for their wisdom, their learning, their zeal in spreading the Gospel, their ability to govern, and even for their holiness. Moreover, many books, tracts, pamphlets, and letters of foreign Jesuits were translated into English and placed before British readers as examples of scholarly and informative writing. This was particularly true of the writings of Jesuit missionaries who gradually reached the farthestmost parts of the world and took up their abode in the darker lands of paganism.

The paradox of praise and censure was partially resolved by a study of the eighteenth century travel writers of Britain.¹ It is hoped that this more detailed study will reveal the bases of the praise in earlier Jesuit contributions. The British editors, publishers, and plagiarizers of Jesuit writings were keenly aware of the valuable information for traders and commercial men, which lay behind the descriptions of strange lands given by the fathers. The scope of the publications in English was world-wide, presaging, aiding, and abetting the empire concept. Vital information came from India, Africa, China, Japan, and from Spanish, Portuguese and French America. So much was published from Jesuit sources, so much used by British authors, in and out of quotation marks, that it will be necessary to limit this study to the early Jesuit missionary writers

¹ Herman J. Muller, "Trade Interests of XVIII Century British Travel Writers," *MID-AMERICA*, XXXIII (July 1951), 139-157.

of Spanish America, more, even to Spanish South America, whose works were called upon to stimulate British trade-mindedness along global lines.

The Jesuits in colonial lands were regarded as excellent authorities by writers of British travel literature.² They were on the scene, they were learned, they were sharp observers, they were in close contact with the natives, whose habits and languages they knew well. Furthermore, the notion seems to have taken deep root in the minds of the British in the course of the hundred years, that the Jesuits in the missions were traders, actually dealing in colonial raw materials! The fathers in the British Isles, it seems, took the shape of distributors, and, as imagined competitors, were constantly under suspicion of trading. These in the Empire idea would be "bad" Jesuits and papists, while those in the missions would be "good" men. How the latter became authorities to the mercantile class of Great Britain can be seen in the usage made of the first of their writings. The most familiar name among those describing northern South America is José de Acosta.

Acosta

It is evident that Acosta was not without his limitations in dealing with the history of the New World. One might say that he was bound to be influenced by some of the erroneous beliefs of the day. Furthermore he had to rely on others for a good part of his knowledge a factor which must have caused him many a headache in attempting to solve the contradictions these entailed. Acosta himself, as Cox points out "deserves high praise as an acute and diligent observer."³ Writing in a philosophical vein, he knew how to sift his evidence and weigh his facts in a truly scientific manner. No wonder that Acosta should have been hailed as "the Pliny of the New World."⁴

A writer of ancient times once bewailed the fact that he, who had written the lives of so many men, would have no one to publish

² This regard is best expressed in the preface of R. Gosting, publisher, *The Travels of several Learned Missionaries of the Society of Jesus*, London, 1714.

³ Edward Godfrey Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*, 2 vols., Seattle, 1935-1938. The "high praise" began very early in Awnsham and John Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* . . . , London, 1704, I, lxxxix.

⁴ Irving A. Leonard, "Best Sellers of the Lima Book Trade, 1585," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXII, February, 1942, 5-33.

his own deeds when he was gone. Something like this happened in the case of Acosta. The broad generalities of his early life are known. However, even modern scholars, in an attempt to become more specific, have only clouded the issue. A recent scholar has arrived at the conclusion that Acosta was born, not in 1539 as was once held, but rather in late September, or better still in early October 1540.⁵ All are agreed that his ancestors were persons of quality and of considerable wealth in Medina del Campo, the place of his birth. José entered the Society of Jesus in September 1562, and pronounced his first vows two years later in November 1564.⁶ He was followed in his vocation by four of his five brothers. That Father Acosta possessed considerable ability as a theologian follows from the fact that he was given the responsible task of teaching theology at Ocana shortly after his ordination to the priesthood.⁷ His later teaching and writings in the same field also make this clear. An orator of note even before leaving Spain for the Americas, he was an accomplished Latinist, possessing a fine style backed by a thorough training in the liberal arts.⁸ In short Acosta was a model of the best type of sixteenth century humanism, such as Jesuit educators were aiming at in their program of studies.

Leaving Spain in 1571 Acosta arrived at Lima on April 28, 1572.⁹ His first duty took him to Cuzco where he acted as visitor of the recently founded college. A few years later he was back at Lima teaching his beloved theology. Then, on January 1, 1576, he was appointed Provincial of Peru.¹⁰ This latter position, which he held to May, 1581, was to have an important bearing on his later writings. In 1582 he was theologian at the diocesan synod of Lima. During his term of office, Acosta, following the custom of the Society, visited the houses under his jurisdiction at least once a year wherever possible. His subsequent journeys took him from Panama to Upper Peru, certainly as far south as Potosí and possibly farther. At any rate, he had ample opportunity to secure first-hand information on the country which he traversed. The fact

⁵ P. León Lopetegui, S.J., "Patre José de Acosta (1540-1600) Datos Cronológicos," *Archivum Historicum*, IX, 1940, 121-122. Father Lopetegui made a thorough study of various catalogues of the Society, letters of Acosta, and writings of other Jesuits, in an attempt to settle this matter of dates. We shall follow here the dates upon which he has determined.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 124-125.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁸ F. Mateos, *Historia General de la Compañía de Jesús en La Provincia del Perú*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1944, I, 282.

⁹ Lopetegui, "Padre José de Acosta," *loc. cit.*, 127.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 127.

that several colleges were established during Acosta's provincialate would further assure us of a thorough study of the entire province in all its aspects, religious, social, and economic, with a view to adopting the most favorable locations. Towards the end of May or early June, 1586, Acosta set out for New Spain where he remained until May of the following year. He would thus have had time to gather considerable knowledge of that important Spanish-American province.¹¹

Father Acosta began his *Historia* while he was still in the Americas. He finished the work after his return to Europe in 1586. From the date of its first publication at Seville in 1590 the work met with phenomenal success. And little wonder, for, as Cox points out, Father Acosta was one of the first to treat "philosophically of America and its productions."¹² A second Spanish edition was printed at Barcelona in 1591, and a third at Madrid in 1608. French translations and editions appeared from Paris in 1598, 1600, and 1616. An Italian translation was published in 1596. German translations were published at Coln in 1598 and 1600, and at Ursel (Sutorius) in 1605. In 1598 a Dutch translation was made by Van Linschoten, and in the same year an English translation was made from the Dutch.¹³ This latter was followed in 1604 by Edward Grimston's translation from the Spanish under the title: *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies: Intreating of the Remarkable things of Heaven, of the Elements, Metalls, Plants and Beasts which are proper to that Country: Together with the Manners, Ceremonies, Lawes, Governments, and Warres of the Indians. Translated into English by E[dward] G[rimston]*. The work was reprinted in 1684.¹⁴

Grimston dedicated his translation of Acosta to the "Right honorable Sir Robert Cicill, Knight, Secretary to his Maiestie." The dedication is worded as follows:

Right Honorable:—If it appeare presumption in me to shew my love, my dutie betraies me to it. The advantage I have gleaned from idle houres, in exchangeing this Indian History from Spanish to English, is commended to your Honors Patronage, whose first father Joseph Acosta, hath with great observation made worthie the over-looking. A greater motive then

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 129. .

¹² Cox, *Reference Guide*, II, 255.

¹³ John Hvighen van Linschoten *his Discours of Voyages into ye East and West Indies*, London, 1598, fol.

¹⁴ The excerpts that follow are taken from the Hakluyt Society reprint of Grimston's 1604 edition. The reprint was edited by C. R. Markham in two volumes, London, 1880.

that you are your self, needed not to excite me to this dedication. I beseech you, very good Lord, take it into shelter, and receive that which is not, for that which I would it were. Let my insufficiencie be measured by my good will. So shall my poore abilities thrive under your encouragement, and happily leade me on to thanke you for mine owne paines, and for ever remain

Your Lordships most devoted E. G.

Why Cecil was chosen for this honor is not hard to see. In the first place Sir Robert was familiar with the continental languages, a factor that had at least some bearing on his being chosen a member of the embassy of 1588, which attempted to negotiate peace with Spain.¹⁵ Secondly, next to the King, Cecil was certainly the most important gentleman in England. In his hands lay from 1603 to 1612, for practical purposes, the affairs of government.¹⁶ Lastly, Cecil was a business man *par excellence*. Actually his becoming Lord Treasurer in 1608 seems only to have enhanced his prestige. His Majesty's secretary would therefore be interested in hearing more about Spain's possessions and the vast treasures to be derived from them.

Except for a brief comment, the first book of the *Historia* may be passed over here. In it, by way of a philosophical approach, Acosta looks back to see what the ancients had to say about the world, the roundness of the heavens, the antipodes, and the like. Sacred Scripture, Roman and Greek writers, the Fathers of the Church, all are dealt with in turn. Finally, the last ten chapters treat of the coming to the Americas of Indians and beasts. Acosta did not bring in this subject of Indian origins merely to satisfy the idle curiosity of Europeans. Though he was not the first to treat of this problem, he considered it to be of utmost importance, and rightly so. English as well as continentals accepted what he had to say in similar vein. If the Indians were absolutely indigenous to America, then they were either brute beasts to be treated accordingly, or else they were intelligent beings but not Adamites, and thus outside the pale of Christ's redemption.¹⁷ In either event

¹⁵ Augustus Jessopp, "Robert Cecil," *D. N. B.*, London, 1908, III, 1309.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1310.

¹⁷ Acosta's complete argument regarding the origin and nature of aboriginal man in America is as follows: The aborigines were either originally in the Americas, or they came from elsewhere. If they originated in the Americas, it follows that they were created here or that they sprung from the earth, (or, as evolutionists might add, they evolved.) If they were sprung from the earth, that is, if they were autochthonous, it follows: a) that the Bible is wrong in stating that all human beings descended from a single pair, or b) that the aborigines are not human beings, or c) that

missionary labours were to be accounted fruitless. Hence Acosta's extreme effort to prove their original connection with the folk of the Old World, and to establish them as persons of the human race. Pertinent Indian legends and beliefs are explained together with theories of Europeans in this regard. The first book is interesting and instructive in that it gives a brief resumé of geographical lore taught through the ages up to Acosta's own time.

One gets a good idea of how ignorant Europeans could be of actuality when he considers that even so learned a man as Acosta looked forward with dread to his passage across the equator into Peru. He himself tells us in the second book, Chapter IX:

Having read what Poets and Philosophers write of the burning Zone, I perswaded my self, that comming to the Equinoctiall, I should not indure the violent heate, but it fell out otherwise; for when I passed, which was the sun was there for Zenith being entered into Aires, in the month of March, I felt so great cold, as I was forced to go into the sunne to warme me; what could I else do then, but laugh at Aristotle's Meteors and his Philosophie, seeing that in that place and at this season, whereas all should be scorched with heat according to his rules, I and all my companions were a cold?

Throughout the whole of his second book, Acosta seems determined to dispel any doubts as to the salubrity of Chile's climate. His descriptions make that clear. Thus he says: "The disposition of seasons is like to that in Europe, which is, that the heat and drought comes whenas the Sunne returns, which is the cause that this Realme of Chile approcheth nearer the temperature of Europe then any other of the Indies, as well in the fruites of the earth as in the bodies and spirits of men."¹⁸

Similarly Peru comes in for its share of eulogy. Comparing the climate of that land with parts of his own Spain and their summer heat, Acosta points out: "At Peru, there is no such great

there were multiple centers of creation, which again would go against the Bible and against the tradition that the first pair were created in the Euphrates Valley.

Against these suppositions Acosta argues, first, that the Bible cannot be wrong, nor can tradition be wrong. Secondly, that the earth could not give what it did not have, intelligence and free will, therefore the autochthonous theory was untenable; so too was the autogenous theory, for if there were no man, there could be no self-generation. Thirdly, there was no proof for the existence of a number of gardens of Eden. The conclusions are that the aboriginies were not in the Americas originally, and therefore they came from elsewhere, from other habitations of the human race. For these reasons they were humans, who, moreover, acted as such and were accepted as such.

¹⁸ I, Bk. II, Ch. IV, 78.

heat, for that the days in summer are not long, nor the nights short; so as the heate of the day is much tempered by the freshness of the night, and although the burning Zone be nearer the Sunne then all other Regions, yet doth not the heate continue there so long."¹⁹

In this same regard Acosta sees fit to answer what might be a possible objection. How can Peru be so pleasant when Brazil is so hot? He admits the heat of Brazil, "although it be in the North sea," and yet assures his readers that Peru, "which is in the South sea," is quite temperate.²⁰ The reason for this Acosta thinks is to be found in the depth of the sea off Peru, which, though it lies in the burning zone, serves as a sort of perennial air-conditioner for that land.

The second book ends with a glowing description of the Indies in general. Considering the adventurous spirit of his fellow-countrymen, one cannot help but feel that his words may well have had their effect in furthering the colonial endeavors of Spain in the New World. Though the passage is somewhat lengthy, it may be cited here for its interest and significance.

Considering with my selfe the pleasing temperature of many Countries at the Indies, where they know not what winter is, which by his cold doth freeze them, nor summer which doth trouble them with heat, but that with a Matte they preserve themselves from the iniuries of all weather, and where they scarce have any neede to change their garments throughout the years. I say, that often considering of this, I find that if men at this day would vanquish their passions, and free themselves from the snares of covetousness, leaving many fruitelesse and pernicious disseines, without doubt they might live at the Indies very pleasant and happily; for that which other poets sing of, the Elisean fields and of the famous Temps, or that which Plato reports or faines of his Atlantis Island, men should find in these lands, if with a generous spirit they would choose rather to command their silver and their desires then to remain slaves as they are.²¹

Harris, in the introduction to his collection of voyages, gave quite a harangue to the merchants of Great Britain, inciting them to greater endeavors in their mercantile ventures.²² In the course of his two volumes, in which he did not hesitate to use the Jesuit Acosta, Harris made it evident where the search for trade was to take place. A good example of how the Father could be helpful is readily seen.

¹⁹ I, Bk. II, Ch. X, 93.

²⁰ I, Bk. II, Ch. XI, 94.

²¹ I, Bk. II, Ch. XIV, 102.

²² John Harris, *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca*, Introduction, xvi.

In the first place, as an aid to ship-captains, Acosta devotes seven chapters of his third book to describing the trade winds of the Atlantic and of the South Sea. Not only are the winds described, but suggestions are made as to the time of the best sailing. Furthermore the very routes of the Spanish ships are given and fully explained. Thus, for example, speaking of the route to and from the Americas, Harris translates Acosta thus:

So as their voiage is going is of a small height, not above twentie degrees from the line, which is within the Tropickes. But the returne is without the Tropickes, in eight and Twentie or thirtie degrees of the height at the least, for that within the Tropickes the Easterne winds continually blow, the which are fittest to go from Spaine to the West Indies, for that their course is from east to west; and without the Tropickes (which is in three and twentie degrees of height) they finde westerly winds, the which are the more certaine and ordinarie, the farther you are from the line and more fit to returne from the Indeis.²³

Similar information is then given of sailing in the Pacific. "The like discourse is of the Navigation made into the South sea, going from New Spaine or Peru to the Philippines or China, and returning from the Philippines or China to New Spaine, the which is easie, for that they saile alwaies from East to West neere the line, where they finde the Easternly windes to blow in their poope."²⁴ What more profitable reading could a ship-captain engaged in American trade, legal or contraband, hope to find than this?

Acosta's description of the Strait of Magellan, its depths and shallows, its shoreline, its waves and tempests, would also be instructive to men of the sea. The Strait, he tells them, is a hundred leagues in length. Thirty of these are governed by the waves of the South sea, seventy by the waves of the North. However, there is this difference that in the South there are rocks and high, snow-capped mountains. Because of the height of the mountains, the entrance to the strait seems to be one continuous stretch of land, which makes it very hard to discover.²⁵

Several interesting bits of information are brought out regarding Drake in this connection. This worthy, in 1579, came through the Strait and then worked North along "the coast of Cille and all Peru." One of his prizes was the ship of San Juan de Antona, "where there was a great number of barres of silver."²⁶ Drake

²³ I, Bk. III, Ch. Iv, 115.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ I, Bk. III, Ch. XIII, 142.

²⁶ I, Bk. III, Ch. XI, 137.

seems to have handed his information on to his comrades; at least we are told that, in 1587, other Englishmen passed through the Strait on his instruction.

In chapter XII Acosta, leaning somewhat heavily on hearsay, brings in a curious bit of geographical error on the Strait of Anian, for which all Europe had been so ardently searching. However, he does make it clear that what he reports is hearsay. Thus it was said that Drake found such a Strait to the North. The reason why he must have done so is that, as the Spaniards thought, "he passed along the coast of New Spaine by the South Sea."²⁷ El Draco was certainly an enigma to the Spaniards: Acosta reports that, in 1587, Cavandish too was supposed to have passed the same Strait when he captured a rich prize near California, "which course the ships returning from the Philipppines and China, to New Spaine, do usually observe."²⁸

Acosta's description of the mineral wealth of the Indies leaves little to be desired. He compares this wealth to a dowery. Just as a father will give his daughter riches to make her the more to be desired, so too has God given the Indies a rich store of gold and jewels, and for a similar reason. Accordingly, says Acosta, in the West Indies:

there are a great sorte of mines of all sorts of mettalls, as copper, yron, lead, tinne, quicke-silver, silver and gold: and amongst all the regions and partes of the Indies, the realmes of Peru abound most in these mettalls, especially with gold, silver, quicke-silver, or mercurie, whereof they have found great store, and daily discover new mines. And without doubt, according to the qualitie of the earth, those which are to discover, are without comparison farre more in number then those which are yet discovered: yea, it seems that all the land is sowed with these mettalls. . . .²⁹

With accounts such as this there is little wonder that Europeans came to the Americas all but expecting to wipe gold-dust off their furniture!

The chapters of the first volume of the *Historia* that follow are devoted to a more detailed account of the riches described in such glowing terms. At the end of several of the chapters Acosta summarizes his account, shall we say, by stating the amounts of gold, silver, wood, and the like, brought to Spain in the fleet in which he himself returned thither. Here, rather than follow the

²⁷ I, Bk. III, Ch. XII, 141.

²⁸ I, Bk. III, Ch. XII, 141.

²⁹ I, Bk. IV, Ch. II, 187.

author through the various chapters in detail, we might well give his tabulation of the vast riches of the fleet which left the Americans in 1587. In this manner then, Acosta, after telling about the gold of the Indies, ends his narrative by saying:

In the fleete where I came, which was in the yeere 1585, [sic] the declaration of the firme land was of twelve cassons or chests of golde, every casson at the least weighed four arrobas, that is a hundred weight, and a thousand fifty and sixe marcs from New Spain, which was for the King only, besides that which came from Merchants and private men being registered, and much that came unregistered.³⁰

A few chapters later Acosta pictures the silver mines of New Spain and Peru, particularly those of famed Potosí, which he describes at considerable length. He then concludes by saying that in the fleet of 1587, "there were eleven million pieces of silver transported in the two fleetes of Peru and Mexico, whereof two thirds were in that of Peru, and almost the halfe for the King."³¹

For the rest Acosta says that, in the same fleet they brought two chests of emeralds, "every one weighing at the least foure arrobas,"³² 22,053 quintals, or hundredweights of ginger,³³ forty-eight quintals of Cassia fistula and fifty of sarsaparilla,³⁴ 350 quintals of the "wood of Guayacan, which they call Lignum Sanctum," 130 quintals of "Brazill wood, which is fierce red,"³⁵ and lastly 35,444 hides from Santo Domingo and 64,350 from New Spain.³⁶

Acosta mentions that this last commodity "is one of the best revenues of the Islands and of New Spain." He then concludes by stating that "when they discharge one of these fleetes it is admirable to behold the river of Seville, and in the arsenall (where they unlade) so many hides and so much merchandise."³⁷

Samuel Purchas published his *Pilgrimage* nine years after Grimston's translation of Acosta's *Historia* first made its appearance. Throughout the first chapter of his eight book Purchas borrowed heavily from the latter work for details of wealth in gold, silver,

³⁰ I, Bk. IV, Ch. IV, 194. Note. The "1585" of the English translation is a printing mistake. According to the Spanish text, Barcelona, 1591, p. 132, the reading is: "En la flota que yo vine el ano de ochenta y siete. . . ."

³¹ I, Bk. IV, Ch. VII, 204.

³² I, Bk. IV, Ch. XIV, 226. Note. An *Arroba* was a twenty-five pound weight.

³³ I, Bk. IV, Ch. XX, 239.

³⁴ I, Bk. IV, Ch. XXIX, 260.

³⁵ I, Bk. IV, Ch. XXIX, 260.

³⁶ I, Bk. IV, Ch. XXXIII, 271.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

and jewels of the Indies, or, more specifically, the commodities mentioned above. What effect Spain's good fortune had on Purchas, and, it may be supposed, on all good Englishmen, is nicely shown in the following passage from this same first chapter. In the biblical phraseology so popular at the time Purchas exclaimed:

And would God, they which reape here these Temporall things, would sow Spirituall, & give them Gold tried in the fire. . . I mean the Word of God sincerely preached, without the drosse of their own superstitions. . . That which one saith of Religion, I may apply to this American World, *Peperit divitias, & Filia devoravit matrem*. She brought forth rich mettalls, and the Daughter hath consumed the Mother; her golde that should have been a *price in her hand and to buy wisdom*, hath to these importunate chapmen sold her freedome. It is a Golden and Silver Age indeede to the Spaniards, for the condition and state which hereby accreweth to them, not for the conditions and state of life, which they observe.³⁸

Enough has already been said of Purchas and his interest in furthering British trade. The point to be noted here is that his *Pilgrimage* was published too early to enable him to use many Jesuits as authorities. Actually there was but one major history of the Americas written by a Jesuit before Purchas brought forth his work in 1613. That was Acosta's *History*, first published in 1590, and translated into English and published in 1604. It is interesting that this important English travel-writer should have made such early use of the Father of Jesuit American Historians, and because of his confidence enhanced Acosta's prestige and that of successive Jesuit writers.

The *Pilgrimage* is divided into nine books, the last two of which deal with the Americas. In Chapter I of the eighth book Purchas borrows heavily from Acosta regarding details of wealth in gold and silver and jewels to be had in the Indies. Purchas' second chapter of the same book treats of the people, beasts, et cetera, of the Spanish possessions, and here again Acosta is cited in great part. The *Pilgrimage* then takes the reader up into New France, down through the English colonies into Florida and then westward into the South Sea. Coming to New Spain, Purchas makes constant use of Acosta for information on the conquest, the land, its inhabitants, its fauna, and flora. Reading Purchas' account of "Chile

³⁸ Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all ages and places discovered from the creation unto this present*, London, 1613, Book VIII, i, 606. The Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, has this rare work. Further editions were published in 1614, 1617, and 1626. The passages dealing with trade possibilities taken from Acosta's *History*, I, 194-260.

of the chilling cold," one gets an idea of how ignorant the British were of that country. It took Ovalle and Del Techo to prove that it was anything but the "most inhospitable country of earthquakes, fearful rivers, cold hills, [and] deserts," which Purchas had made it.³⁹

In 1625 Purchas enlarged his *Pilgrimage*, at the same time making a change in the title.⁴⁰ In this work too he used Acosta's *History*. Material dealing with Peru, for example, shows a close reliance on the Jesuit.⁴¹ Furthermore, one is surprised to find that Purchas was familiar with Acosta's *De Natura novi orbis*, or as he cites it using the alternate title, "*de procuranda indorum salute*." This work was published at Salamanca in 1589 and 1595, and at Köln in 1596. It was not translated into English. Purchas quotes Acosta as deploring the "bloudie and therefore slipperie foundations of the Faith" in the New World.⁴² In the margin, where he gives his reference to the Father, Purchas adds: "He also shewes how naturall merchandise is, and how unjust it is to prohibite it: producing the example of the Chinois. . ."

Purchas continued to be the standard text of travel-literature well into the middle of the seventeenth century. Side by side with him Acosta was to maintain his authority as the outstanding historian of Spanish America, not only in England but throughout the Continent. The advent of Acuña, Ovalle, Sepp, Del Techo and other missionary writers at the end of the century was to witness an increasing use of the Jesuits as authorities by the English authors who followed them. Still, Acosta was cited in many works through a century and a half for purposes of indicating possibilities of trade. Gradually he became a source book for geographers and historians, and he is still cited by these as well as ethnologists and anthropologists. In fact, Acosta was acclaimed as learned authority in everything relating to colonial affairs, except theology in which he was an authority. By a peculiar irony or design his knowledge of theology and morality was held in low esteem by British writers.

In the eighteenth century there was a constant use of Acosta. Dr. John Harris, publishing his *Complete Collection of Travels*

³⁹ Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, 716.

⁴⁰ Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 4 volumes, London, 1625. Newberry's Ayer Collection has an excellent copy of this edition.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, IV, Chapter XIII, 1451, 1460, 1462, 1464, 14[67], 14[68], 1472, 1477; Chapter XVII, 1496.

⁴² The passage occurs in *Pilgrimes*, I, Book II, Chapter VI, 24. Reference is given to Acosta's *de procuratione indorum salute*, L. I. c. 13, 14; L. 2. c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15; L. 3, c. 3, 4, 5; L. 4, c. 4, 5, & 6.

in 1705, used considerable of Acosta, and other editions of Harris came forth in 1744-1748, by Campbell, and in 1764.⁴³ John Campbell's *A Concise History of Spanish America* of 1741 was put out in a second edition in 1747, and authorities for this included a number of Jesuit writers as well as English writers who had utilized Acosta.⁴⁴ Pascoe Thomas, Teacher of Mathematics on Board the *Centurion*, fell back on Acosta and Ovalle for descriptions of South America and especially Chile in his *A True and Impartial Journal of a Voyage to the South Sea, and Round the Globe, in His Majesty's Ship the Centurion, Under the Command of Commodore George Anson*, as published in 1745. So also did Emanuel Bowen when he produced in 1747 his two volumes on *A Complete System of Geography. . . Illustrated with Seventy Maps*.

Odd among the tributes to Acosta was that of Reverend Patrick Barclay, who dedicated his labors to the promotion of trade⁴⁵ in 1735 in his *The Universal Traveller, or, A Complete Account of the Most Remarkable Voyages and Travels of Eminent Men of our own, and other Nations, to the present time. . . .* One chapter is headed: "The Natural and Moral History of America." Immediately he begins:

In treating this subject, we shall chiefly follow Acosta as being the author of greatest credit, as having liv'd a long time in different parts of *America*, and one who writes with good judgment and modesty, and therefore with him we shall divide this chapter into two distinct parts, viz. I. The *Natural History*, and II. The *Moral* . . .⁴⁶

Barclay will never be accused of going back on his word here! He follows Acosta right along, putting the headings in the margin instead of breaking the matter down into chapters as the Father does. In this way he treats first of the "vegetables of the *West Indies*." Then, when he comes to describe the animal kingdom, he explains that, like Dr. Harris, he too will follow Acosta here.⁴⁷ One is delighted at the naive remark made by Barclay in this regard.

⁴³ John Harris, *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca*, 2 Vols., fol., London, 1705; the edition here referred to is that of Campbell's.

⁴⁴ John Campbell, *A Concise History of Spanish America, collected . . . chiefly from Spanish Writers*, London, 1741; the second edition was published in 1747 under the title of *The Spanish Empire in America*, although only the title page of the first edition was changed.

⁴⁵ Patrick Barclay, *Universal Traveller*, Book I, Chapter XIII, 304-347. The Reverend Barclay's purpose in writing his *Universal Traveller*, his own forced interest in trade, and his wise dedication of the work "To the Worthy Merchants of the City of London."

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 304.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 321. Barclay is here referring to Harris, *Navigantium*.

Coming to his second section, which has reference to the moral history of America, he says: "As we have follow'd *Acosta's* Method in the last Section, there appears no Reason for deserting him in this, and therefore, without farther Preface, we shall observe, with him, that pride and malice of the devil have been two great causes of idolatry in the world."⁴⁸ It will not be necessary to show the precise nature of the data borrowed from Acosta, since this would be merely to repeat much of what has already been given with respect to other authors.

Ovalle

By 1703 the War of the Spanish Succession, with its colonial counterpart known as Queen Ann's War, was in full swing. In that year Marlborough began his march into the Spanish Netherlands. In the midst of all the excitement of the war the Churchill brothers first published, in the form of a tract, the *Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Chile*, written by Father Alonzo Ovalle. This relation, judging from countless citations, was to become a favorite source for English travel writers. The work was originally intended to be included in the larger collection of voyages and travels then in preparation, and included it was, but for some reason the editors saw fit also to publish it separately the previous year.⁴⁹ It is likely that this was done for the returns in money it would bring; but it is more than likely that the war, with its added interest in the Spanish possessions, had much to do with the choice of this particular work rather than a hundred other possible selections equally available.

How greatly the Churchills esteemed Ovalle's history may be seen from the "Publishers Preface" to the *Collection*, which has an "Account of the Books contain'd" in the four volumes. There it is stated simply that this "is the only good account of that Kingdom

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 324.

⁴⁹ The relation as included in Churchill's *Collection* of 1704, III, 1-154, is identical, page for page, title page included, even to blemishes and cracks in the print, to the published edition of 1703. The relation is also included in the editions of 1732 and 1744-1746. John Pinkerton has the first six books in his *General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all parts of the world*, 17 volumes, London, 1808-1814, XIV, 30-210. The reason why the whole was not printed is that the first six books are "the only ones that contain the historical and natural accounts; . . . and some chapters even out of them are omitted, for their tedious superstitious narratives." (To The Reader, 33. Also see "The Conclusion," 210.)

[of Chile]."⁵⁰ Moreover, except for the descriptions of miracles, which the translator has "in great part retrenched," Ovalle's truthfulness was not to be questioned. The writer then goes on to praise the completeness and accuracy of the history in spite of the difficulties under which its author labored in writing it. At the same time the reader is referred to the translator's preface which immediately precedes the work itself. Before glancing at this same preface, one should first know something about Ovalle and the reasons why he happened to become historian of Chile.

Alonzo Ovalle was a native of Chile. He was born at Santiago in 1601.⁵¹ His family, which came originally from Spain, seems to have been quite well-to-do. At least we hear of them owning a large encomienda at Ligua.⁵² In 1619 Alonso entered the Society of Jesus in Chile, and there, like Acosta, his first priestly work was to take him into the classroom, where he taught philosophy and theology. He later became Rector of the Seminary of St. Francis Xavier at Santiago.

Father Ovalle was a comparatively young man when the Chilean Jesuits held their first general congregation. Still it was on him that its members imposed the duty to representing the vice-province at the eighth general congregation of the Order to be held at Rome in 1640.⁵³ The reason why he was chosen, we are told, was "because of his knowledge and other endowments, and because of his family background."⁵⁴ Nor did Father Ovalle disappoint the men who elected him. Going first to Spain, he was well received by the Ministers of the Council of the Indies and by the King himself. His visits to the various Jesuit houses in the peninsula en route to Rome also took on many aspects of a homecoming. In Rome the Father General, Mutius Vitelleschi greeted him kindly, while Pope Urban VIII also granted him an audience.⁵⁵

Ovalle however soon became convinced that it would take much more than the kindness of his superiors, of the Roman ecclesiastics, or even of the Royal officials to secure the success of his work. He found that Europe was so absolutely ignorant of Chile that in some places people did not even recognize the name of the place. If

⁵⁰ Awnsham and John Churchill, *Collection*, Publishers Preface, I, vi.

⁵¹ Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 11 Vols., Brussels, 1890, VI, 39-40.

⁵² Francisco Enrich, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile*, 2 volumes, Barcelona, 1891, I, 418.

⁵³ Sommervogel, VI, 39-40.

⁵⁴ Enrich, *Historia*, I, 451.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

superiors, civil and ecclesiastical, were to be interested in his beloved Chile they would have first to be given information on what sort of country it really was. In reflections such as these the seeds of his famed history gradually began to take hold.

When Ovalle left Chile for Europe he had no idea of writing a history of his native land. Throughout the writing he found himself lacking in competent authorities as well as accurate historical data. Naturally, therefore, the finished work was neither complete nor perfectly exact.⁵⁶ Still Ovalle deserves much credit for what he did. After all his was the first history to be written of Chile proper. Moreover, the work has ever been considered an outstanding literary monument. Certainly it is a tribute to this Jesuit and to his knowledge of his native land, its productions, its people and its great events, that he did so remarkably well in spite of all the handicaps encountered in his writing.

How highly the English translator esteemed Ovalle's efforts is shown in his introductory preface. While pointing out the good qualities of the book to his English readers, he is so lavish in his praise of it that one might label it as publisher's "blurb." Certainly little more could be said than that the relation is "so admirably perform'd" as to a "Model for most Relations of this kind." The reasons why it is to be considered so admirable then follow. In the first place, it is pointed out, one could not wish for more exact descriptions of beasts, plants, minerals, rivers, coasts, inhabitants, and the like. Likewise the portrayal of the Cordilleras is accurate beyond expectation. Entertaining, too, and instructing are Ovalle's descriptions of travel from Chile down into the Plata country to Buenos Aires. The translator, after bestowing on Ovalle the honorable title of "Candid Inquisitive Philosopher," then makes this significant statement:

But above all the Instructive Chapters of this treatise, there is one about the Method of Driving a Trade between Europe and Chile to and from the Philippines and East-India's which contain Secrets of Commerce and Navigation, which I wonder how they were Publish'd and 'tis possible may e're it be long be practis'd by the Spaniards and other Nations, if the Navigation of the Mexican Gulph becomes so troublesome, as it is likely to be made by the Naval Powers of their Maritime Power to exert it self in.⁵⁷

The chapter mentioned above as outstanding is the fourth of the second book. Ovalle is here speaking of the discovery of the

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 452.

⁵⁷ Awnsham and John Churchill, *Collection*, III, Translator's Preface to Ovalle's History, 1.

Strait of St. Vincent in 1619, and of the exploring party sent out shortly thereafter. The King was so delighted with what he heard about the healthfulness of the climate about the Strait and the ease of its passage, that he determined to let this be the way to the Philippines for the future. Ovalle then quotes certain Dutch authors who are also of the opinion that the Spaniards would be wiser to use this route than the fearful, unhealthy, longer passage around the Cape of Good Hope. In fact, it is stated, the Dutch thought it well to sail to their own Batavia in this way.⁵⁸ Ovalle continues:

and if they say true, and make out that it is better to sail this way to their *Batavia*, how much better is it for the *Spaniards*, who drive a Trade with Peru and Chile, the distance being much less, and having for Friends all the Parts of Chile, if they won't go so high as Peru, which the Dutch have not: Neither would it be a small Advantage to exchange in those Ports the Merchandises of *Europe* with their Product, which is so wanting in the *Philippines* Islands, and all those Parts of the East: Every one may find their Account in this trade. . . .

Ovalle then makes clear how everybody will gain by this trade. The Spanish merchants, without having to contend with unhealthy Cartagena, Panama and Portobelo, would find ample markets for their wares in Chile and Peru. With the expensive portage from the Caribbean thus eliminated, Chile and Peru in turn would get their European wares at a much cheaper rate. For their part these two countries would furnish corn, wine, oil, copper, hides, nuts, and other commodities so needful to Europe and the Philippines alike. It was a forgone conclusion that the merchants of New Spain would continue to get their European wares directly from Spain and not from Chile or Peru. To be sure, New Spain would lose her Philippine trade. However this should be considered rather an advantage in as much as high handling charges had made that trade an unprofitable affair anyhow.

Ovalle next mentions the two big obstacles that might prevent the new course from being used. The first lies in the fact that the Strait cannot be passed except in certain seasons of the year, though, as he previously remarked, once it had been passed, the route to the Philippines is excellent and swift at any time. The second obstacle is the same as that which has kept the port of Buenos Aires closed to trade, namely precedent, in spite of countless lives lost in the unhealthy Caribbean trading centers. Ovalle does not say

⁵⁸ Alonso de Ovalle, *Relation*, Bk. II, Ch. IV, as in Churchill, *Collection*, III, 56-57.

so explicitly but hints that the cause of all this lies with the traders, merchants and officials of the older trading colonies. At any rate Buenos Aires is avoided, and for the same reason the Chile-Philippine route.

In concluding this data Ovalle lets slip a statement which is most significant. Before citing this, however, it may be pointed out that Chileans were scarcely imbued with any proper nationalism at this early date. Still even then there seems to have been present a certain spirit of economic independence, which was only later to have its political counterpart. Ovalle was a native born Chilean, and had a love of Chile and a great desire to see it thrive, as would seem to be indicated in the following: "Perhaps time will bring all things to pass, and that those of *Chile* themselves will venture to find out this Vent for their Product. All consists in trying; for the Advantages on both sides would be so manifest, that the Sweet of them would soon make the Way easie, and that Trade would wonderfully enrich *Chile* and Peru. Since they might bring back to those Kingdoms all the Commodities of China and Japan. . . ." To be sure, Ovalle was also a loyal subject of his Catholic Majesty for he immediately adds: "and that without carrying any gold or silver, which might be preserv'd all for *Europe*." By this trade too "the King's Revenue will be the greater." Finally, remembering that Ovalle was procurator of his province and recalling the financial difficulties under which his brethren were laboring, one can understand why, in his opinion, "all things thus well accommodated, the Service of God, and the Divine Cult and worship would be better carried on."⁵⁹

The whole of Ovalle's history is a mine of information not only on the climate, natives, soil, and products of Chile from top to bottom, but also of its rivers, harbours, ports, coasts and winds. A considerable amount of space is also devoted to the merchants and their large profits. The possibilities of gold, silver, and precious stones being found in Chile are also given prominence. Comparing this work on Chile to that of Campbell on South America in general, one sees great similarities of treatment. In other words a merchant, such as was Campbell, would have written the history of Chile just as Ovalle did, excluding of course its religious aspects. Examples other than that cited above might be given to illustrate this point. However, considering the scope and purpose of the present work, but one more will suffice.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.

The illustration is taken from the fifth chapter of the first book of the history.⁶⁰ There Ovalle states that "a Man who has about Forty thousand Crowns to employ in land, Flocks and Slaves to take care of them, may every year have a Revenue of Ten or Twelve thousand Crowns, which is a Gain of Twenty-five *per Cent*. . . . The Merchants, by many Commodities, get a hundred, and two hundred, nay three hundred *per Cent*, in a Navigation of about three weeks, which is the time usually Employed from *Chile* to *Lima*." Ovalle adds that there is little danger from storms or pirates. Rather the greatest danger is in the covetousness of the merchants, who "load up to the Mid-Mast," trusting in tail winds and calm seas to get them through! He remarks on the plentifulness of marketable products: "I have seen them go out of the Port with Provisions for the Voyage and other Necessities as high as the Ropes that hold the Masts."

One might well imagine that information such as this would have been of utmost interest to the merchants of Europe. But if there be any doubt in the matter he should glance through the *Fugger News-Letters*. As Gordon Selfridge points out, lacking such modern business facilities as telephones, cables, telegraphs, newspapers, and the like, the bankers and merchants of the time had to resort to other means for obtaining every scrap of news that might seriously affect their business ventures.⁶¹ For their part the Fuggers had agents in all important trading centers, who notified their masters in Augsburg of such events as would be of interest. One is surprised to note the great similarity between this type of "news" and so much of what was taken from the Jesuits by English writers.

If whole books were "borrowed" from the Jesuits, without a farthing of recompense, it is clear that wholesale citations from the same were not to be scrupled at, especially in those days when no copyright laws existed. However, some English writers and publishers gave the Jesuits full credit, even using quotation marks, some mentioned them as sources, and others made no reference whatever to them. The long task of reading the English travel writers to determine the full amount of materials taken from Jesuit missionary writers revealed that even if a complete tabulation could be made it would be impossible to publish the amounts utilized. Scarcely a British writer over two centuries neglected materials coming in

⁶⁰ Alonso de Ovalle, *Relations*, Bk. I, Ch. V, as in Churchill, III, 10.

⁶¹ Gordon Selfridge, "Forward" to the *Fugger News-Letters*, Victor von Klarwill, editor, Pauline de Chary and L. S. R. Byrne, translators, 2 volumes, London, 1924-1926, I, iii.

from all quarters of the globe from the pens of Jesuits. In concluding this section on Ovalle it will suffice to give one example of the manner in which Cooke and Bankes at widely separated times made use of a passage in Ovalle.⁶²

Ovalle, 1703. "Their Doors are of the same Material, and they have neither Hinges, Locks, nor Keys, nor anything under a Lock or Key. . . . First, as to their Beds, they have neither Quilts, nor Sheets, nor Pillows; much less do they need Curtains, Pavillions, or Alcoves: The hard Grounds is their Couch, upon which they lay some poor Skins; and for Boulster, they lay a Stone, or a piece of Wood, and double their Cloaks to lay on it; and that is their highest Contrivance of Ease; They have One or Two very course Coverlets, which they Weave of a sort of Thread. . . . They have no Utensil of Gold or Silver, though they have so much in their Country; Their Plate is Four or Five Dishes, and some Spoons of Wood, or a Shell from the Sea side; a Calbash or Gourd to drink in, a Leaf of a Tree, or of Maiz, for a Saltseller: This is all the *Apparatus* of their Table, which is the Ground, or at least best a little Broom, upon which they wipe their hands. . . . Their way of letting Blood is safer than ours, for it is . . . with a sharp Flint, fix'd at the end of little piece of Wood, so fast, that there is just enough left out to cut the Vein, and no more. . . ."

Cooke, 1712. "Locks and Hinges they never made Use of, the Doors only put to loose; and they never fear robbing, as having nothing to lose, and Theft being little known among them. As for Furnature, they have neither Quilts, Sheets, nor Pillows, but lie on some Skins on the Ground with a Stone, or Piece of Wood for a Boulster, with one or two coarse Coverlets or Blankets. Hangings are never thought of, much less Plate, but they are satisfy'd with a few Wooden Dishes and Spoons, a Calabash or Gourd for their Drink, and a Leaf for a Salt [seller]. The Ground is their Table, or at most a little Bench, without Cloth or Napkins, but only a little Broom to wipe their Hands on . . . and for letting Blood, they have a safe Way, doing it with a little Fleem made of Flint, which they fasten'd to a Stick, and with a little Stroke cut the Vein."

Bankes, 1797. Their manners are very simple. They have no gold or silver, though these metals are so common in their country. All their bedding is some skins laid on the ground; and they eat on the ground, or else on a little bench, and wipe their hands on a broom, instead of a napkin. Their food is of maize, fruit, herbs, and what they catch by hunt-

⁶² The Ovalle selection is from Book III, Chapters III and IV of his *Chile*, as translated in Churchill, *Collection*, 71-72; the second selection is from Captain Edward Cooke, *A Voyage to the South Sea, and Round the World, Perform'd in the years 1708, 1709, 1710, and 1711, by the Ships Duke and Dutchess of Bristol* . . . , 2 Vols., London, 1712, I, Chapter VII, 71; Cooke mentions Ovalle as a source in the beginning of his Chapter VI, and later in his Chapter X, but without specific references; Reverend Thomas Bankes, *A Modern, Authentic and Complete System of Universal Geography*. . . . London, 1797, II, 553; Bankes does not cite Ovalle but uses both Bankes and Ovalle; by his time such writings were probably deemed "common knowledge."

ing and fishing. Their drink, also is made of maize toasted, steeped, and boiled, or of fruits. Their furniture consists of four or five dishes, and some wooden spoons or shells, a calabash or gourd to drink out of, and a leaf of a tree or maize for a salt-seller. . . . They let blood with a sharp flint, fixed in a little piece of wood, and just enough to open a vein."

Acuña

In a curious volume entitled *Voyages and Discoveries in South America*, published in London in 1698 there are three very interesting relations, two of them by Jesuit writers.⁶³ The first of the three is Father Acuña's relation of his voyage down the Amazon River; the second is Acarete du Biscay's story of his business trip from Spain to Potosí by way of Buenos Aires; the third deals with Father Grillet and Bechamel and their trek into Guiana in 1674.⁶⁴ The editor of this work has a special "advertisement" immediately preceding his introduction. One might now call it a news "flash." He says that, just as his introduction was going to the printers, word reached him from Lisbon through Paris to the effect that the French of Cayenne had attacked the Portuguese, who were erecting a fort north of the Amazon to protect a gold mine discovered there. The editor points out that the outcome of the trouble is uncertain, but "this is certain that whatever Europeans first possess themselves of the *Isle of the Sun*, and the *Bosphore* or Strait of the *Amazon* will command the Entrance into, and Passage up that noble River, and secure the trade of it to themselves."⁶⁵

From what the editor says in the introduction proper, there can be no doubt but that it was precisely such trade that he had in mind in publishing his volume. He writes:

The following Relations discovering some of the richest Parts of the World, not yet planted by the Europeans, and others but little known,

⁶³ *Voyages and Discoveries in South-America, The first up the river of Amazons, to Quito, in Peru, and back again to Brazil, perform'd at the Command of the King of Spain, by Christipher D'Acugna. The second up the River of Plata, and thence by Land on the Mines of Potozi, by Mons. Acarete. The third from Cayenne, into Guiana, in search of the Lake of Parima, reputed the richest Place in the World, by M. Grillet and Bechamel. Done into English from the originals, being the only accounts of those parts hitherto extant.* S. Buckley, pub. London, 1698.

⁶⁴ Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del Gran Río de las Amazonas*, Madrid, 1641; this is translated as "A Relation of the Great River of Amazons in South America." Acarete was not a Jesuit. Jean Grillet, "Journal du voyage qu'ont fait les PP. Jean Grillet et François Bechamel de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Goyane, l'an 1674," is in *Relation de la rivière des Amazones, traduite par feu M. de Comberville* . . . Paris, 1682 and 1684, vol. IV.

⁶⁵ *Voyages and Discoveries in South America*, Introduction, ii.

worthy the perusal of the Curious, can hardly fail of a favorable Reception at this Juncture; for of all the Blessing of Peace, none appear more charming or profitable than Navigation and Commerce, especially to the English Nation, whose Genius is much bent upon Improvements at Sea, and Plantations abroad, which bring great Riches into the Kingdom, particularly those in America, where the Spaniards by their ill Conduct have given Opportunities to some of their Neighbors to put in for a share of the Wealth and Trade of that vast Tract of land.⁶⁶

The English editor then gives the reasons why the Amazon was explored by Acuña and his party. The venture was brought on by the fact that the conduct of the English, French and Dutch in the Caribbean area and Brazil had forced Philip III to find other means of getting out the gold of Peru to Spain. It was thought that a waterway from Quito to Pará might be the answer to the problem, hence the expedition.⁶⁷ The editor further explains how Father Acuña, a renowned geographer, left Quito in January, 1639, and arrived at Pará in December of the same year. He also states quite correctly how, when Acuña's relation was published at Madrid in 1641, after the Portuguese had again broken from Spain, Philip IV took "all possible care to get and destroy most of the printed Copies in Europe and the West Indies," since the Spaniards could no longer use the information the work contained, "the Portuguese might make too great Advantage of it."⁶⁸ Here is the reason for the scarcity of the book. Here too is an excellent example of the importance attached to such a work by the Spanish monarchs, and the means they took at times to prevent such information from falling into the hands of their European rivals. In this same connection one recalls how Clavigero's *Storia Antica del Messico*, though first written in Spanish, had to be translated into Italian for publication due to the antagonism of Charles III.

A very brief survey of Acuña's relation will make it quite evident why the English editor should have got somewhat excited about trade possibilities in the Amazon country. The first ten chapters deal with Gonzalo Pizarro's journey by land along the upper waters

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Introduction, iii.

⁶⁷ Abbé Guillaume Thomas Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*. Translated by J. Justamond, M.A. 5 volumes, Third Edition, London, 1777, III, 161-162.

⁶⁸ *Voyages and Discoveries*, Introduction, iv-v. The father's name is here spelled Acugna; elsewhere one finds Acughna and Acunha. Judging from what the publisher says of the scarcity of copies of the original Spanish text, the English translation, including the words "Taken from the Spanish Original," was made from the French translation of Gomberville and not actually from the Spanish.

of the Amazon, of Orellana's voyage to the mouth of the river, and of the Orsua expedition. Among the many interesting findings of Acuña in the chapters that follow one learns that:

A great many more Rivers fall into the *Amazone* than into the Ganges; and if the Banks of the latter are cover'd with gilded sand, those of the former are fill'd with a Sand of pure Gold, and the Waters that always wash them are continually discovering Mines of Gold and Silver in the Bowels of the Earth.⁶⁹

Next, after dealing with the source, length, breadth, and depth of the Amazon in chapters XXI and XXII, Acuña states that there are "Four things which abound on the Banks of this River, which are capable of enriching great kingdoms." The four are wood, coco-trees, tobacco and sugar, the last of these especially being most valuable.⁷⁰ But there are also other commodities to be had, such as cotton, "which grows there abundantly," *Rocou*, used for making scarlet dyes, *Caffia*, *Sarsaparilla*, oils of various kinds, gums and rosins.⁷¹ Furthermore, Acuña says, the natives of the land are quite commercial minded. Their cedar-wood canoes and traffic on the river reminded one a lot of Venice.⁷² In addition Acuña has further interesting details on the mineral wealth of the Amazon country. For example, he says "I am mightily mistaken in my Judgment, if many others [mines of gold and silver] may not be found in this Country more rich than all those of *Peru*, the famous Mountain of *Potosí* be comprehended in it; I speak not this without ground. . . ."⁷³ The chief reason for this assertion seems to have been the great amount of gold he saw in the possession of the natives as he journeyed down the river. For example, Chapter LVII of the *Relation* deals with the gold mine and the Yquyari River which springs out of it. "Here," says Acuña, "the Natives amass Gold together in prodigious quantities."⁷⁴ In the following chapter he tells how the natives actually "hang plates of Gold from homes in their Ears and Nostrils."

Knowing that his Catholic Majesty would be interested in fortifying the proposed trade route, Acuña also gave information on that score. He mentioned, for example, the famous River Negro,

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Chapter XXXII, 77-80.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Chapter XXXIII.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Chapter XXXVIII, 88-89.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Chapter XXXVI, 81.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Chapter LVII, 131-133. Note. On Acuña's map, opposite page 1, the mile appears at c.310° long., and c.2° south of the Equator.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Chapter LVII, 133-134.

or Urma, or Curiguarura, which, according to his map flows into the Amazon at 4° south latitude and c.316° longitude. Acuña considered the mouth of this river to be the best place in the world for erecting a fort, both because of its strategic position and because of the abundance of stone in the vicinity.⁷⁵ In this regard likewise Acuña made a statement which was later to cause no little argument among geographers. He said that a better place still for such a fortification was rather "several Leagues above this mouth, in an Arm that goes to cast itself into the River call'd *Rio-grande*, whose Mouth . . . is in the North Sea."⁷⁶ Acuña's map, placed at the beginning of the relation also shows this hook-up between the Amazon and Orinoco River systems, a discovery most important.

While treating of the Amazon country a word should be said about a famous map, which was published at Quito in 1707 by the Jesuit, Father Samuel Fritz.⁷⁷ Juan and Ulloa have an interesting account of how the map came into being in the first volume of their *Voyage to South-America*, Book VI, Chapter V, pages 403-404 of the English translation edited in 1758. The two authors first give testimony of the wonderful improvements made along the Marañon by the Jesuits, who not only converted the hitherto savage Indians, thereby sublimating their morals and customs and making them loyal subjects of Spain, but improved the lands as well. The result was that: "The banks of this river, where before only wild Indians were seen living in the manner of beasts, were now turned into plantations and regular towns, the inhabitants of which showed that they were not destitute of reason and humanity."⁷⁸ The authors then mention that such improvements were due in large part to the labours of Father Samuel Fritz. In 1689, however, the Father's health broke down and he was forced to go to Pará for a brief rest. Two years later he was again back making the rounds of his forty-one mission stations. This accomplished, he made a report of the country to the viceroy at Lima, "where he was received with great honour."

In returning to his mission again in August 1693, Father Fritz took special notice of the rivers which flow into the Marañon from

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapter LXV.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Father Samuel Fritz was born in 1656 at Trautenau in Bohemia. He came to the missions in 1684. The exact date of his death seems to be uncertain, though Sommervogel has it on March 20, 1725. Sommervogel, III, 1003.

⁷⁸ Jorge Santacilla y Juan, and Don Antonio de Ulloa, *Voyage to South America*, I, 403.

the South. The information thus gathered, together with what he already knew of the country, enabled him to draw his map, which was first published at Quito in 1707, and copied many times thereafter. Juan and Ulloa mention that, though the map was not as accurate as might be desired, because the Father lacked proper instruments for taking accurate observations of key points, still the finished product was greatly applauded, since it was the only one in which were laid down the source and direction of all the rivers which join the Marañon, and the whole course of the latter till its junction with the ocean.⁷⁹

Five years after the map was first published, Captain Edward Cooke included it in his *Voyage to the South Sea*.⁸⁰ Cooke in introducing the map to his readers tells how the British obtained a copy of it and why it was important. He says:

I have purposely reserv'd the last Place for the Rivers, an Account of a new Map of the mighty River of the Amazons, engrav'd and printed at *Quito* in *Peru*, where the Source of it is, and runs many Leagues, notwithstanding it falls into the *North Sea*. This Map was taken Abroad a Prize, being made but in the Year 1707, and consequently, in all Likelihood, the first that ever came into England, drawn by the Jesuits in Peru, who have labour'd more than any others, to discover that vast Tract through which this River runs, which has been hitherto erroneously laid down, and well deserves to be rectify'd, being probably the greatest in the World.⁸¹

Beginning on page 240, Cooke gives "The Substance" as he calls it of Acuña's relation on the Amazon, and then follows with a "further account," pages 248 to 250. The latter, which gives a brief description of the Amazon and the surrounding country with its trees, fishes, various animals, inhabitants, missions, etc., seems to have been taken from the 1707 edition of the map published at Quito. The map itself is inserted between 248 and 249.

Needless to say, Acuña was used as an authority by other English trade and travel writers besides Cooke and Banks. Captain Woodes Rogers, who was primarily interested in trade and was backed by the Merchants of Bristol for a voyage around the world to explore trade possibilities, used Acuña, just as did Edward Cooke, the first

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 404.

⁸⁰ Samuel Fritz, A copy of Father Fritz's map has been included in *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723*, Rev. Dr. George Edmundson, trans. and ed., London, Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1922, opp. p. 47.

⁸¹ Edward Cooke, *Voyage to the South Sea*, I, 221-22.

mate on the expedition.⁸² This, incidentally, was the Rogers who rescued Alexander Selkirk, better known as Robinson Crusoe, from the Island of Juan Fernándz in the winter of 1708-1709. Throughout the pages of Emanuel Bowen's *Complete System of Geography*, which he referred to as a "universal map of Commerce," use is made of the various Jesuit writers including Acuña and Fritz, though his account of the Amazon seems to have been derived from Rogers.⁸³ While Alexander Dalrymple in his *Collection of Voyages*, 1770-1771, and John Hamilton Moore in his *New and Complete Collection of Voyages*, 1778, obviously made use of all sources available, it will be useless to attempt to pick out what they took from the Jesuit writings. With William Robertson, however, the story is different.⁸⁴ Robertson was not content with indicating his exact sources in footnotes. He added longer notes at the end of his volumes giving further details from the authors cited and an excellent "Catalogue of Spanish Books and Manuscripts" at the end of the second volume. Seventeen Jesuit writers are cited, including Acosta, Ovalle, and Acuña, the last becoming an authority on the weather and fishing along the Amazon.⁸⁵ Though these and a number of other British writers were primarily interested in the seventeenth century Jesuit authors for purposes of trade, present day scholars utilize the same fathers for their studies in history, geography, ethnology and anthropology.

HERMAN J. MULLER

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⁸² Captain Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World: First to the South Seas, thence to the East Indies, and homewards by the Cape of Good Hope. Begun in 1708 and finished in 1711.* . . . London, 1712, 72-74.

⁸³ Emanuel Bowen, *A Complete System of Geography. Being a Description of all the Countries, Islands, Cities, Chief Towns, Harbours, Lakes, and Rivers, Mountains, Mines, Etc., of the known world.* . . . The whole Illustrated with Seventy Maps. . . . 2 volumes, London, 1747, especially II, 580-587.

⁸⁴ William Robertson, *The History of America*, 2 volumes, London, 1778.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 255, 452, note 31, and I, 325, note 52.

Book Reviews

Broadax and Bayonet: The Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, 1815-1860. By Francis Paul Prucha. State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1953. Pp. xii, 263. \$4.00.

This scholarly and well written volume is a valuable addition to the slowly growing list of books dealing with the activities of the United States army on the American frontier. The term Northwest as used by the author includes the area between Lake Michigan on the east extending westward to the Missouri River, and from Fort Edwards at the mouth of the Des Moines River on the south northward to Fort Ripley in the north central part of what is now Minnesota. The forts located in present day Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and northern Illinois are considered. Chronologically, the study covers the period from 1815, when the United States government began to expand its military frontier into the northwest, until 1860, when all but two of the military posts in the region had been evacuated. It is not an account of Indian battles, as fortunately none of the posts was attacked, but it emphasizes the non-military services of the army, and the life of the soldier in those isolated garrisons in this portion of our western borders. While the work is an integrated unit, considerable attention is devoted to the history of each military post in the area, the most important of which were Fort Howard at Green Bay, Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, and Fort Snelling near St. Paul.

The volume is divided into twelve chapters. The first two set the stage by describing the area as a wilderness, and defining, in general, the military frontier in the early nineteenth century. The third chapter is a comprehensive account of the makeup and characteristics of the early American army. Chapters four and five give an account of the liquor problem and the police functions of the frontier army. There is a chapter describing the effect of the army upon the wilderness as the soldiers erected forts, constructed roads and bridges, and cultivated subsistence farms. The army posts were a decided economic stimulus to the frontier, creating a demand for hay, wood, food, and services. Attention is paid to the transportation of troops and supplies, the scientific contributions of the post officers, and the part played by the army posts in the cultural and social development of the area.

The chapters on military manpower and on social and cultural life were of special interest to this reviewer. The well trained and disciplined officers are presented in sharp contrast to the enlisted personnel, which consisted of "riffraff" and a considerable percentage of foreigners. It was a drab and monotonous life for a private at five dollars per month, and unscrupulous traders selling whiskey often harassed the posts, where intemperance and desertion were not uncommon. The forts were under garrisoned, usually having from fifty to one hundred men each. Considering the lack of sufficient manpower and the conditions under which they had to operate, the army doubtless did a satisfactory job. In addition to furthering the

economic development of the various areas in which they were located, within these forts were established pioneer schools, libraries, church organizations, and theatres. Colonel Zachary Taylor, writing in 1820, said that "the ax, pick, saw, and trowel has [sic] become more the implement of the American soldier than the cannon, musket, or sword."

The author has presented an interesting and stimulating description and evaluation of the frontier army in an important period in our national development. This well documented study is based on carefully selected materials from the national archives and from numerous accounts of eye witnesses. Attractive and well printed, the volume contains carefully chosen illustrations, and has a good index.

HAROLD E. BRIGGS

Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

The Immaculate Forest: An Account of an Expedition to Unexplored Territories between the Andes and the Amazon. By W. R. Philipson. Philosophical Library, New York. 1952. Pp. 223.

This is a very refreshing bit of scientific reporting by a leading botanist of the British Museum. With graphic detail, Dr. Philipson describes the adventures, scientific and exploratory, of a team of scientists penetrating into the unknown Macarena Mountains south of Villavicencio, in the Republic of Colombia. Over and above the scientific value of so many of the discoveries, this volume is a small classic of modern reporting of exploration in one of the little-known corners of the world. The work of Philipson and his companion, biologist Christopher Doncaster, sponsored by the British Council in co-operation with the Roberto Franco Institute in Villavicencio and other Colombian scientists, is also an excellent example of the kind of scientific co-operation between nations that can teach valuable lessons to politicians and diplomats.

Because the Macarena Mountains, between the inner slopes of the easternmost Colombian Andes and the headwaters of the Amazon, were unmapped and uninhabited, the Philipson account is necessarily a recital of heroic trail blazing through heavily forested valleys, along narrow ridges, over swollen rivers—and there were often frustrations, along with exciting crisis, in the arduous attempt to reach the highest point in the Macarenas themselves. There are two major climaxes in this story: the exciting moment when Philipson and his companions (Doncaster and the Colombian helpers) finally know that they have reached the summit of the Macarenas; and the discovery of several types of flora (and some fauna) which seem to link the Macarenas to the Guiana Highlands, portions of northern Brazil, the southern South American plains, and even Central America. This latter climax is formed of the several discoveries of specimens, plus a thought-provoking recapitulation at the end of the book. Philipson indicates that he had hopes of bolstering the theory that the Amazonian Basin was, in the far geologic past, a vast plateau stretching from the Andes to the Guianas and south to the plains; some of the plants and animals of the Macarena

Range bear this out, for there seems little room for other explanations of their presence there.

Of additional interest is the brief but delightful description of their stay among some of the inhabitants of the *llanero* country, plus a quick trip to the end of nowhere, Colombia's Leticia and the headwaters of the magnificent Amazon. For the readers interested in the strictly botanical and biological material in the book, there is an index which seems complete enough. The less scientifically minded will find that the photographic illustrations, thirty-two in number, give entertaining help in showing the trials and tribulations of such exploration, plus the kind of scenery encountered. Endpaper maps show the routes of the expedition and place the explored area in its larger geographical setting.

PHILIP WAYNE POWELL

University of California, Santa Barbara

Before Lewis and Clark. Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri 1785-1804, Edited with an introductory narrative, by A. P. Nasatir. St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, St. Louis, 1952. Vols. I, II. Pp. 853.

For a score of years Professor Nasatir has been engaged in collecting materials and documents on the Missouri River and its vast valley. The results of some aspects of his labor have appeared in articles over the years and now appear in full in these two volumes. The first one hundred and fifteen pages are a history of the exploration of the Missouri Valley from 1673 to 1804, though practically nine-tenths of his narrative pertain to the years before 1785. This interesting account, divided into three parts, is attended by an extensive bibliography in the footnotes and five large, tipped-in maps. If the documentation for the period before 1785 as indicated in the footnotes were also published, obviously many more volumes would be required.

In selecting his documents Professor Nasatir chooses those most significant for unfolding the story of the exploration and use of the Missouri Valley, and by this he means chiefly the story of trade with the Indians. The collection is thereby widened beyond geographical aspects to trade policies of the French, Spanish, and English. Moreover, he presents only eleven documents for the years 1785 through 1791, eleven for 1792, sixteen for 1793, and the remainder of some 160 for the years to 1805. Again, his selections in the main have to do with St. Louis, its trade and traders, and French and Spanish regulators of New Orleans. Finally, these materials whether previously published or unpublished, are here produced in English, all for the purpose of comprehension of the story of the Missouri. The published translations have been checked against the originals; in some places Professor Nasatir has retranslated the document, in others he has made corrections. While he keeps to the wording and spelling of the originals purposely, he painstakingly brackets variants and words about which any doubt may arise. In footnotes he gives the history of each document with references

to its users. No one will question the great industry that has gone into this publication, whose author and editor has himself transcribed over 70,000 pages of documents and has gathered additional materials from many American and European archives. Students of the Trans-Mississippi west will be happy to have this set for research purposes. It is a welcome commemoration of the Louisiana Purchase sesquicentennial.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

Le Grand Marquis, Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil et la Louisiane. By Guy Frégault. La Corporation des Éditions Fides, Montreal I, Canada. Pp. 484. \$3.50.

On turning the title page of this book, one is confronted with the first of twenty pages of *Bibliographie*. Almost half of this section deals with manuscript material, either original or reprinted, which is to be found in archives of Canada or the United States. The prominence allotted to these sources seems to typify the purpose of the author. His biography proves to be not so much a picture of the man, Vaudreuil, as a scholarly research into the evidence exposing his method of conducting the government of Louisiana from 1743 to 1755. No emphasis is put on the "Grand Marquis' " youth or on the latter years of his life, after he became Governor of New France at Quebec.

As the book unfolds its carefully documented pages, the lack of details in Vaudreuil's portrait emphasizes the exactitude with which his major characteristics have been delineated.

Some of these characteristics which will clarify aspects of French American colonial policy will be very helpful to the student of this period. For instance, in the first chapter, which deals with the biographee's father, one learns how a governor of New France could be so interested in the Canadian fur trade that he would go against the best advantages of his compatriots in the Mississippi Valley. Chapter four shows Vaudreuil begging the French Ministry, in vain, for merchandise which might have kept the good will of the Indians who were turning to the British because they could not find what they needed at New Orleans. It also shows how the Governor had to play one tribe off against another in order to keep them all weak, which seems to have been a policy forced on colonial administrators because of the shortsighted economy of Louis XV's Court. In various places, but especially in chapter six, one learns how the double authority of the Intendant and the Governor proved to be an obstacle to progress. Finally, in chapter seven, it becomes clear that men appointed to rule the colonies were not always selected because of their ability; their inefficiency paved the way for England's conquest of French North America.

It has been suggested that more could have been said about Vaudreuil, but probably this book, as far as it goes, contains everything that needed to be written about him. One could wish that it covered his final activities in Canada in the same way.

The index is quite lengthy, but it groups most references under proper names with which they are connected. It would have been helpful if some of the items had been duplicated as separate topics. The careful editing of the text does credit to the publishers, but the lack of a good binding means that librarians who buy the book will soon have the expense of remedying this defect.

RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON

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A History of Soviet Russia: The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923, Volume II. By Edward Hallett Carr. Macmillan, New York, 1952. Pp. 400. \$6.00.

The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923, Vol. II is organized both chronologically and topically.—It opens with a discussion of the socialist Theories and Programmes; then proceeds to deal with three periods: The Impact of the Revolution, War Communism, and the Economic Policy. Each of the above periods is divided into topics in which policies and methods applied by the Bolshevik regime to Agriculture, Industry, Labor and the Trade Unions, Trade and Distribution, and Finance are discussed. This arrangement permits the reader to study the revolution either by the periods or by selected topics throughout the periods. The book ends with a chapter on The Beginning of Planning and two notes: C. Marx, Engels and the Peasant, and D. Workers' Control on the Railways.

This volume, like Prof. Carr's first (*cf.* review of his *Bolshevik Revolution*, Vol. I in *Mid-America*, Jan. 1952) is based exclusively on Soviet sources. It abounds with quotations and references from Soviet documents and writers. The reviewer wished there were a shorter cut to presenting an adequate account of this work.

In studying any revolution the reader wants to know first what kind of political and economic order the revolution had destroyed: stagnant, decaying, or progressive? Second, has the new order been beneficial or detrimental to the people? Prof. Carr does not give a definite answer to the second question; with respect to the first, his understanding of pre-revolutionary Russia leans heavily upon Lenin's. His criticism of Russia's most important reforms: the Emancipation of serfs, and the Stolipin land reform follows the Marxist line. For example, Prof. Carr writes: "The emancipation undermined the equilibrium which the Russian countryside had enjoyed at the low level of a serf economy and substituted no other." He maintains that the reform benefited only "capable and energetic landowners" at the expense of "the less enterprising"; that it "favored the rise of a small number of the most efficient peasants," and "divided the peasantry into a minority . . . of landowning peasants . . . and a majority of landless peasants". . . First, it must be pointed out that when freedom begins to reign more productive and enterprising people receive larger rewards; second, the reform did not create a majority of landless peasants.

Political and economic reforms in Russia had begun early in the 19th century and were brought to fruition in 1861, when 22.5 million serfs, about

one third of the total population were emancipated. To prevent the pauperization and the formation of an immense proletariat, the government made arrangements for the liberated peasants to own land. The peasants were organized into rural communes, the *mir*, and given the complete system of self-government. The land bought from the landowners remained the common property of the commune. Though the land allotments varied with the fertility of the soil, the average, per male peasant was 9.5 acres; this size compared favorably with the average size of the French peasant during the same period. To equalize land holdings, when families increased or decreased, arable lands of the commune were periodically redistributed, usually within 5, 10 or 12 years. It is interesting to note that the rural commune was idealized by both the early Russian socialists and the conservatives. The first saw in it a germ for the future development of socialism, the latter a bulwark against class struggle and socialism.

After emancipation, agricultural productivity began to rise, and Russia became an important grain exporting country. However, the village commune, with the rapid economic development of the country, began to show defects: the authority of its assembly over the members, and the system of periodic redistribution of land tended to restrain individual initiative. To remedy these defects, Prime Minister Stolipin in 1906, overcoming strong opposition from both the conservative and the socialist parties in the Duma (Russian Parliament) was able to put through an agrarian reform. The purpose of the reform was to end the communal form of ownership of land gradually and to substitute a numerous class of independent farm owners. Stolipin believed that independent farmers would become more productive and oppose socialism. As a result of the Stolipin reform, by the end of 1913, about 24 per cent of all the peasant households withdrew from the communes and became independent farmers. In addition 3 million families moved and settled in Siberia. Unfortunately, World War I interrupted this movement. Had there been no war, the Russian peasants soon would have become independent farmers. But Prof. Carr writes: "As it was, Stolipin could only hope to improve the lot of a few 'sturdy and strong' kulaks at the cost—and here Lenin was perfectly right—of a still more ruthless and unsparing exploitation of the shiftless mass of the poor peasantry."

Prof. Carr's views seem to be that Russia was at the dead end—she could not resolve her problems by any means except those advocated by Lenin. His judgment is not supported by historical fact. The Stolipin reform met a real demand and found a favorable response from the peasantry. Lenin himself, to win the peasants, promised them more land and encouraged partitioning of estates. Had the peasants known Lenin's real design, to deprive them of land and force them into collective farms, he could not have attained power. The Russian peasant, to this day, does not want to be communized and continues to pay dearly for his gullibility.

After emancipation, the industrialization of Russia proceeded very rapidly. Prof. A. L. Bowley estimated that, at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the greatest real increase in the national wealth and per capita income was in Russia and the United States. Soviet historian P. I. Lyashchenko writes: "After 1870, the development of capitalistic re-

lationships began to proceed at a rapid, and at times tempestuous speed." Russia proved that, through great social and economic reforms, she was capable of resolving her problems of reconstruction in a peaceful and orderly manner.

During World War I, Russia, though blockaded and isolated from her allies, was able to fight for more than three years on two fronts, against Germany and Turkey. The reverses of the war and the loss of confidence in the government were responsible for the revolutionary changes in February, 1917. The February Revolution was peaceful and accepted by the whole of Russia—the Czar abdicated the throne and the Provisional government took over like the American Revolution, the February Revolution promulgated complete freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of religion, and the summoning of a Constituent Assembly. Lenin immediately began to attack the Provisional government, which unfortunately had no leaders of Stolipin's abilities, and in October, 1917, was able to overthrow it.

Before the Bolshevik revolution, political and economic changes were evolutionary. "The Russian Revolution of 1917," says a well known American historian of Russia, H. Schwartz, "came not at the end of a long period of stagnation and decay, but rather after more than a half century of the most rapid and comprehensive economic progress."

The advent of Lenin to power, as Prof. Carr's study shows, was a death knell to all progress and achievements of the Russian people. The Bolsheviks tried to uproot the past, and to build a new order on unknown principles. The process of uprooting was carried on with increasing violence and terror until the spring of 1921, when Lenin was compelled to change its course and introduce a New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) of moderation and concessions. During the fateful years, 1917–1921, the Bolshevik regime was demolishing all pre-revolutionary institutions and creating its own. It nationalized, without compensation, all land except peasants, all major industries, banks, the precious metals and money in excess of 10,000 rubles, factories, mines, and merchant marine; annulled all domestic and foreign obligations; converted trade unions and cooperatives societies into government controlled organizations; introduced labor conscription and workers' control in industries; set peasant against peasant by creating "committees of poor"; tried to build a single state controlled economy through the introduction of collective farms and trusts in industry; assumed the responsibility of distributing all goods and services; experimented with a moneyless economy; set up a "grain dictatorship" to force peasants to surrender grain to the government; mercilessly suppressed every opposition and uprising among peasants and workers, and liquidated numerous individuals and whole classes.

What were the results of these measures? The economic collapse of Soviet Russia assumed proportions unknown in human history. In 1920 the total output in industry had sunk to 10-12 per cent of what it was in 1913. In some industries it was as low as 2 per cent. The supply of fuel was equally catastrophic. Low output and the drought of 1921 brought a famine which wiped out millions of people and threatened additional, from 22 to 27 millions. As always, the American people responded to this disaster and sent Mr. Hoover to Russia to relieve the situation. Riots and strikes which broke out in villages and cities were suppressed with utmost cruelty, but

in March, 1921, this general discontent had found support in the Red Navy, in Kronstadt. The Red Navy, the guardian of the revolution, rose against its leaders and demanded the calling of a Constituent Assembly and freedom of trade. The Kronstadt Revolt was crushed, but it sobered the Bolshevik leaders and forced them to loosen the reins of the dictatorship. In the spring of 1921, Lenin announced the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.), already mentioned.

Under the N.E.P., markets were restored; freedom of trade permitted; peasants could sell their produce; private enterprise was restored for small-scale industry; large-scale industries remained in the hands of the government, but put on the principle of "economic accounting," i.e., profit bases; wage equality was abolished and working discipline restored by giving the management full authority; banks were reestablished and money stabilized; budget and the system of taxation were revised, and attempts were made to induce foreign capital to be invested. As a result of these changes, economic conditions began to improve rapidly. Lenin called this new system "state capitalism." It was a compromise between collectivism and individualism, state control and private initiative. The N.E.P. was not, however to remain permanently; it was as Lenin said, a "retreat—for a new attack"; the communist ideal was not abandoned, but only temporarily shelved.

In the last chapter, *The Beginning of Planning*, Prof. Carr shows how the practical application of planning, so important in the Marxian concept of socialism, met difficulties and led to disputes among the Bolshevik leaders. He might have pointed out that socialist planning inevitably leads to the exploitation of workers by the government.

To throw additional light on the agrarian policies of the Bolshevik regime, Prof. Carr adds a note—Marx, Engels and the Peasant—in which he shows that the communist leaders believed in large-scale methods of production both in agriculture and industry as indispensable conditions of socialism. As a result of this belief, the Bolshevik government used force to establish large collective farms. Prof. Carr does not mention the views of such communist writers as Edward David and Karl Kautsky who disagreed with Marx and Engels. They pointed out the differences between agriculture and industry and maintained that the advantages of large-scale production in industry could not apply to agriculture. "Where large and small holdings were worked with the same appliances and the same knowledge," says Kautsky, "the small holdings always prove to be superior."

It should also be pointed out that in their endeavor to outproduce America, the Bolshevik leaders have relied upon machines, technicians and brute force. They do not realize that freedom alone made America so productive.

The Bolshevik Revolution as revealed by Prof. Carr has been a drag not only upon the Russian people but also upon the rest of the world. Though some of Prof. Carr's interpretations and judgments are open to doubt, his work, like W. H. Chamberlain's, *The Russian Revolution, 1917–1921*, will remain a most important contribution to the history of revolutions.

T. A. MOGILNITSKY

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Notes and Comments

Last year the Institute Caro y Cuervo of Bogotá, Colombia, published as the ninth of its series of cultural publications a critical edition of the works of a forgotten author of the seventeenth century, Juan de Cueto y Mena. The editor of this very scholarly volume is Professor Archer Woodford of Loyola University, Chicago. It has been a long time since we have seen such minute exactness in any critical or definite edition of a writer. In the Prologue to these *Obras de Juan de Cueto y Mena*, José Manuel Rivas Sacconi gives a brief sketch of all that is known of the life of Cueto y Mena. He was baptized in La Mancha in Spain in 1604, went to Cartagena of the Indies before his marriage there in 1637, apparently was an apothecary, and was sued for some 20,000 pesos debts in 1669. His health declined during six months in jail where he awaited trial. Afterwards nothing is known of him, except that he was still alive in 1674, and the poems, discourses, and relations which Dr. Woodford so capably analyzes from the Spanish editions. Where Cueto y Mena got the university training and the erudition revealed in his works remains a mystery.

* * * *

The University of California Press added two new numbers, 43 and 44, to the University of California Publications in History. These are *The Early Career of Lord Rockingham, 1730-1765*, by G. H. Guttridge in fifty-three pages paper-bound, and *The Correspondence Between Henry Stephens Randall and Hugh Blair Grigsby, 1856-1861*, edited with an introduction and notes by Frank J. Klingberg and Frank W. Klingberg. The letters and index fill 180 of the 196 pages. The letters, from the Brock Collection of the Huntington Library, are of interest to historians in many points since they are the comments of Randall of New York, Jefferson's biographer, and Grigsby, the outstanding scholar of early Virginia history, on Jefferson and democracy.

The John Gray Blount Papers, edited by Alice Barnwell Keith, Volume I, 1764-1789, came from the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina. The editor had as her background the preparation of a doctoral dissertation on "The Three Blount Brothers in Business and Politics, 1783-1812." From over

10,000 items she has selected those of more than ephemeral value. Students of trade and merchandizing will have to note these and the following letters, and others will find many pertinent comments upon the events of the times. This volume runs to 572 pages.

* * * *

A new and completely revised edition of the *Dictionary of World Literature* has been published by Philosophical Library, New York. This is a collaborative work engaging 260 authorities under the general editorship of Joseph J. Shipley, whose purpose is to define and describe terms, forms, and techniques of the various literary arts and to present in brief essay form their principles and problems. The items are arranged in dictionary order. The longer descriptions follow the encyclopedia pattern and include brief bibliographies. The book is very useful for ready reference. So also is another of the Philosophical Library publications—*The New Dictionary of American History*, which appeared last year. This is designed to be a means of settling many arguments common to many drawing rooms, dining rooms and classrooms. It has the advantage of being up-to-date in its choice of items, including in its pages definitions, catch-phrases, recent events, and institutions, but is of use only for essential reference data.

* * * *

For thirteen years the Harvard University Press published and distributed the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* as prepared by the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. The University of Florida Press has contracted to publish Numbers 14, 15, and 16, and has recently issued Number 15 for 1952, under the editorship of Francisco Aguilara and Elsie Brown. The present volume is appropriately dedicated to the memory of José Toribio Medina "in recognition of his great contribution to the development of bibliography in the Americas." Toribio would indeed be delighted to see this excellently printed volume and he would be more than pleased at this series of annual bibliographies. The contributing editors and co-editors have done exceptionally well in the introductions to the sections which they arranged and in the brief descriptions of the items listed. In view of the increasing number of books and periodicals coming from Hispanic America the *Handbook* is a necessary and welcome publication.

The Caribbean: People, Problems, and Prospects, edited by A. Curtis Wilgus, is the second volume of the Publications of the School of Inter-American Studies sponsored by the University of Florida. The twenty addresses printed in this work were delivered in December, 1951, and set up by the University of Florida Press in very nice format. Among the contributors appear the names of specialists in one or other field of inter-American concern, some of whom present detailed studies while others offer syntheses. The conferences are organized around five large headings: Health in the Caribbean, Land, Trade, Culture, and Diplomacy. As planned by Dr. Wilgus they supplement the studies of the preceding year, published in *The Caribbean at Mid-Century*.

From these papers the reader gets impressions of the enormity of the problems confronting the peoples of the twelve republics under scrutiny. In his introduction Dr. Wilgus graphically indicates all of the troubles in five "discouraging vignettes." In the first of these he beholds the usages made of the water in a public fountain in a Mexican plaza: birds, animals, and people drink of it or lave in it. How can the problems of health and sanitation be solved in the presence of such an attitude toward microbes as prevails among sixty million people? The speakers of the conference indicate what has been and is being done to check such outstanding enemies to life as yellow fever, smallpox, hookworm, yaws, malaria, typhus, and other general or local enemies. Despite all this, the population is on the increase, which brings up the question of land, land distribution, clearance, output, and fertilization, where folk are in primitive unconcern about the output of farming and grazing acres. What should be done to develop concern and output? There should be no products for trade under prevalent circumstances, but in the section on trade we find that over half of our foreign trade is with these twelve Caribbean republics. And, moreover, the total private American capital invested in the area is now about three billion dollars, according to William L. Schurz. This seems safe, though, quite paradoxically, the over-all financing program seems financially unsound. The reader will find many startling and stimulating thoughts in this volume.

* * * *

Those who have read *History and Human Relations*, written by Herbert Butterfield of Cambridge University seem to be favorably impressed by it. The book was published by Macmillan, as was an

earlier volume, *The Origins of Modern Science*, by the same author. In *History and Human Relations*, eight essays are included, with such interesting titles as "The Christian and Historical Study;" "The Dangers of History"; and "History as a Branch of Literature." The necessity of a Christian outlook on history is stressed. A high moral code is demanded of the historian. Professor Butterfield believes that historians could do much more than they have in the past in the furtherance of international harmony. He considers all religious persecutions wrong. He regrets that World War I and II strengthened Russia as they did, but he writes much that is significant on the relationship that exists between Russia and the West. This material seems especially important with the passing of Josef Stalin from the earthly scene.

* * * *

A real service has been performed by Professor Harold E. Briggs of Southern Illinois University, and his wife. They have recently given us *Nancy Hanks Lincoln*, a truly scholarly and detailed investigation of Abraham Lincoln's mother. They have avoided using groundless rumors and have preferred to limit themselves to factual material. Matters still in doubt have been left in that status. The authors admit that they are not sure where Nancy Hanks was born. They doubt that she was illegitimate, and give convincing reasons for their doubts. They give much evidence to show that Thomas Lincoln, Abraham's father, was not as shiftless as he has often been painted. The life of the Lincoln family in Kentucky and the valid reasons for the move to Indiana in 1816 are well presented. Readers will learn much not only about the Lincolns but also about life in general in Kentucky and in Indiana during the early part of the past century. The book is published by Bookman Associates, New York City.

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Draper: Historian turned Educator

In 1857 Lyman C. Draper, needing money, "consented" to run on the Democratic ticket for Superintendent of Public Instruction of Wisconsin. He had come to the new state less than five years before in hopes that his college mate, Charles H. Larrabee, could fulfill an earlier promise to make Draper the state librarian, get him a salary as superintendent of a historical society, and a "sinecure" post as professor of history in the newly established university. At the time of the promise Larrabee was in high favor with the dominant Democrats of the state, but by 1852 when Draper moved to Wisconsin the stars of both Larrabee and the Democratic Party had begun to wane. Though he was a judge of the supreme court, he could no longer control the appointment of university professors and state librarians. He and Draper, however, reorganized the historical society, got a charter from the state and got Draper a salary of \$500 as Corresponding Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. In a year, Draper's astounding success in building the Society and its library doubled the salary of the state librarian, but Draper was still pressed by debts. Judge Larrabee considerably advised him that he could draw two salaries from the state, and Draper concluded that he could win the office of school superintendent which would give him an additional thousand.

Lyman Draper was widely known, even before he came to Wisconsin, as a historian. For fifteen years, ever since he left Granville College, he had been gathering manuscripts and oral and

written reminiscences of the "adventurous heroes" of the trans-Allegheny West from 1760 to 1815, and he had gained wide publicity for his collections and for the books he planned to write. When his patron's death forced him to earn his own livelihood he brought to Wisconsin ten thousand pages of interviews with old pioneers and their descendants, as well as copies of documents from state archives and county courthouses. In addition he had an equal amount of manuscript material including the main corpus of the papers of George Rogers Clark and Daniel Boone.

In Wisconsin Draper immediately added to his stature in the public eye. Several years before, for a brief period, he had edited a Democratic newspaper in Mississippi, and he had a full appreciation of newspaper publicity. He lost no opportunity to publicize himself and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. He listed in the public prints the society's rapidly growing acquisitions, books, maps, manuscripts, portraits, and relics. He "elected" historians, politicians, literary men and journalists, soldiers, and men of wealth to honorary membership in the Society and when the honorees praised his energy in building an historical society in a state whose history was still in the future, he published their encomiums in the press. Within a couple of years after his arrival he was probably the best known scholar in Wisconsin. In addition, he was a leading member of the Baptist Church, a deacon of the Madison congregation, and a trustee of one of the denomination's colleges.

Throughout his life Draper had been a Democrat. Andrew Jackson was the very ideal of the frontier hero whom he admired. In his native New York, Draper had been a loco-foco follower of Van Buren. His Mississippi experience had sufficed to make him a tolerant supporter of James K. Polk. In Wisconsin, where he arrived just in time to join in the first hopeful exultations over Franklin Pierce's victory, he quickly joined, through Larrabee's influence, the inner circles of the Young Americans who first supported "Young Hickory" Pierce and then sorrowfully pinned their faith in Stephen A. Douglas. He counselled with the party chiefs, wrote unsigned editorials for Madison's *Argus and Democrat*, and composed sections of the party's platforms denouncing the rising tide of Black Republicanism.

The Democrats, who were steadily losing ground in the home state of the Republican Party, welcomed the suggestion, which Judge Larrabee anonymously made in "Letters to the Editor," that Draper run for Superintendent of Public Instruction. He was, said Larrabee,

a "Democrat in his political views, but in no sense a partisan," a great historian who might otherwise leave Wisconsin and abandon his researches, and a man who "probably hasn't an enemy in the world."¹ The *Madison Argus and Democrat* copied the letter and added its endorsement of Draper's "efficiency," "indefatigable industry," and "perfect official integrity."² Other papers chimed in with such encomiums as "best nomination made," "a happy suggestion," "strongest and best man," and "by nature fitted for such a position."³ Amid this acclaim the party convention placed his name on the ballot.⁴

With ostentatious modesty—as became a scholar in politics—Draper refused to campaign. "I should not like even to appear as if courting the favor of the people by attending a teachers' meeting, worthy as it confessedly is, during the present canvass," he explained.⁵ "He is a ripe scholar," nodded the Democratic press approvingly. "We are not aware that he has ever identified himself with any party as a partisan," said a Madison editor for whom Draper had written editorials blistering the Republicans.⁶ Secretly during the campaign Draper circulated a pamphlet, "Come, Brothers, arouse!" which bore tell-tale evidence of a historian's hand. It denounced Republicans for departing from "the solemn admonitions of the Patriot Washington!"⁷ In November Draper's non-partisan scholarship received the voters' approval: the Republicans swept the state, but Draper won his office by a narrow margin.⁸

The duties of his new office were not onerous. They consisted, for the most part, of interpreting the school laws in disputes among

¹ *Milwaukee News*, July 30, 1857; Charles H. Larrabee to Lyman C. Draper, July 30, 1857, in the Draper-Wisconsin Historical Society Correspondence in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. All subsequent manuscript citations, unless otherwise indicated, are from the Draper Correspondence.

² *Madison Daily Argus and Democrat*, August 3, 1857.

³ *Daily Argus and Democrat*, August 8-24, 1857, quoting the *Western Fireside*, *Horicon Argus*, *Appleton Circuit*, *Beloit Herald*, *Mineral Point Democrat*, *Chicago Christian Times*, and others.

⁴ *Daily Argus and Democrat*, August 29, 1857.

⁵ Draper to Moses Banett, September 26, 1857.

⁶ *Daily Argus and Democrat*, September 3, 1857, quoting the *Madison Daily Wisconsin Patriot*.

⁷ *Daily Argus and Democrat*, October 13, 1857; Draper to George H. Paul, October 10, 1857, in the George H. Paul Papers in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. "Come Brothers, arouse!" was an old rallying cry with Draper. He had used it in Pennsylvania years before (1848) when calling Democrats into the Cass-Butler camp. Cf. "To the Democracy of Pennsylvania: Come, Brothers, Arouse!", manuscript article in Box 48 of the Draper Correspondence.

⁸ *Daily Argus and Democrat*, December 17, 1857.

school heads, teachers, and irate parents. The public high school had not yet arrived in Wisconsin and Draper's domain included only the common school districts. His predecessors, however, in the decade of Wisconsin statehood, none of whom had been re-elected for another two-year term, had been inefficient and dilatory. The files of the office were scant, and Superintendent Draper and his deputy, Stephen H. Carpenter, had little difficulty carrying them across capitol park from the statehouse to the Historical Society rooms in the basement of the Baptist Church. Draper's first task was to learn the facts about the common schools.

He carried to the office his experience as a historian and the talents which had won him success in the Historical Society. Accustomed to handling documents, he brought order into the files, and emerged from his researches with the basic facts about Wisconsin education. There were 241,544 children of school age in Wisconsin, and 156,985 of them attended the 2,945 schools of the state. Male teachers received twenty to forty dollars, averaging \$24.60 a month, while females, whose wages ran from \$10.72 to twenty-eight dollars averaged \$15.16. The state appropriated \$141,164.76 or sixty-six cents per child. With the facts before him, Draper was prepared to administer his office. Soon, he was letting the press know that he had written 250 letters during his first month in office, and the press, at least the part with Democratic affiliations, was praising his energy and efficiency.⁹

But Lyman Draper was not content with mere efficiency. He hoped, he said, to leave "the system of education far better systematized than ever before." Yet he ruefully admitted that, with no experience in education, "the idea of attempting to learn a new trade at my age, seems to me almost an act of unpardonable folly."¹⁰ Again, however, his experiences in gathering historical material proved useful. For years he had been collecting manuscripts, books, and oral reminiscences about his pioneer heroes. Now, he wrote, even before assuming office, to superintendents of public instruction in other states, asking them for copies of school laws and reports. He added the volumes he received to the Historical Society library, and named these donors honorary members of the State Historical

⁹ "School Survey," January 12, 1858, in the Draper Correspondence; *Daily Argus and Democrat*, January 30, 1858.

¹⁰ Draper to W. C. Crane, June 21, 1858; Draper to Henry Barnard, July 3, 1858, in the Henry Barnard Papers at New York University. Microfilm copies of the parts of the Barnard Papers dealing with Barnard's stay in Wisconsin are available at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Society of Wisconsin. He wrote educational publicists for suggestions, and planned a trip into the eastern states to interview educators.¹¹

Before long he was bristling with ideas for improving the common schools of Wisconsin. Since Wisconsin people were lamentably "not yet prepared to adopt compulsory measures," he proposed that the state apportion school funds on the basis of attendance and thus use "persuasive influences" to attract the absentee one-third into the school houses.¹² He suggested that school districts should have to lengthen the school term from three to four months in order to qualify for state aid. He urged creating the office of county superintendent, and substituting township boards for the school district trustees. He wanted a single state board of education to supervise the state university, the normal schools, and "to some extent" the common schools. He proposed erecting high schools and the inauguration of a graded system from "the primary school to the University" with the "most superior graduates" of the high schools receiving a "free" course in the university — "I mean board, as well as tuition, room rent, fuel, etc." And, since better teaching was a crying need, Superintendent Draper busied himself with bringing Henry Barnard to Wisconsin as Chancellor of the State University. Barnard was an ardent advocate of teachers institutes, normal schools, and normal training in the university.¹³

As one by one Draper lent adherence to these administrative reforms, he began to evolve an educational philosophy. It was a philosophy composed in part of naïveté and rationalism, reflecting the ideas of eighteenth century enlightenment and bolstered by a romantic interpretation of history. The philosophers had argued that man was capable of unlimited improvement, and Draper viewed history as evidence of continuous progress. His educational ideas were logical extensions of his concepts of history. Education could "drive away . . . the vampires of superstition," turn "wilderness and jungles into habitable land," make "indocility docile," change "wandering . . . savages into happy home-loving . . . families,"

¹¹ Draper to Dr. Ryerson, December 3, 1857; A. Smyth to Draper, December 7, 1857; J. S. Adams to Draper, December 16, 1857; M. S. Forker to Draper, December 23, 1857; C. H. Wiley to Draper, December 30, 1857.

¹² Lyman C. Draper, *Tenth Annual Report . . . of the Common Schools . . . of Wisconsin, for the year 1858*, Madison, 1858, 7.

¹³ Draper, *School Report, 1858*, 8, 179; Draper to J. L. Pickard, July 12, 1858, in the Obadiah M. Conover Papers in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Louise Phelps Kellogg, "Henry Barnard," in the *Wisconsin Alumnus*, 41 (February, 1940), 115-121.

propel ships, speed locomotives, rear temples, print libraries, and teach men how to "wrap in unconsciousness . . . millions of nervous filaments," so they "can resist, like a rock, every arrow of pain."¹⁴

To historian Draper, education came from books and more books, the tools of learning. Reading books could make a man a mathematician, an "adept in political economy" or "a variously cultured man." Moreover, good books could improve character. It was, he declared, "almost impossible to over-estimate the influence of books and libraries on the minds of children." Suitable books for youth could not fail to cultivate the "noble talent" of reading for wise and not ignoble purposes. Especially important, thought the historian, were volumes of history and biography. He urged that youth read about "representative men, or representative events," the stories of "heroes of ancient times," the revival of learning, the explorations of Boone, the English inventors, and "the story of the infant settlement and wonderful growth of the States of our Republic. . . ." "There are single sentences in the New Testament," said Baptist Draper, "that have awakened to spiritual life hundreds of millions of dormant souls."¹⁵

Clearly, since the reading of books built character, the best of reading was in the Good Book itself. Draper was an ardent and faithful Baptist, a deacon of the First Baptist Church of Madison and its most influential member. Early in his term as Superintendent of Public Instruction, a case arose which enabled him to voice his educational and religious faith and to bolster his argument with historical erudition. The village of Watertown was torn over the issue of the Bible in the schools, and the problem came before Superintendent Draper.

Frontier Watertown contained a substantial number of Germans imbued with the liberal, anti-clerical prejudices of the "Forty-eighters." The town's teachers were products of church schools and colleges who considered themselves "called" to Christianize the children in their classes. Part of every day the pedants read Bible verses to their pupils and led them in the Lord's Prayer. Some angered citizens petitioned the school board to end the practice, and, on the urging of C. R. Gill, the town's young school superintendent, the board ordered the teachers to stop the practice. The eager instructors then began meeting with their students fifteen minutes

¹⁴ Manuscript notes for speech in Box 48 of the Draper Correspondence.

¹⁵ Draper, *School Report, 1858*, 39, 43-53; manuscript, "District School Libraries," in Box 48 of the Draper Correspondence.

before class for the religious ritual. When the superintendent forbade this, the teachers rebelled. Superintendent Gill then requested the board to discharge the instructors. An enactment of the sort would have closed the schools but left the teachers still entitled to their pay. When a board member appealed to Draper, the state superintendent replied with a four-page printed pamphlet.¹⁶

Piously, Deacon Draper began by expressing sorrow that the issue had arisen. The Wisconsin constitution "very properly" forbade "sectarian instruction" in the public schools, but who could regard the Bible or such a "liberal, unobjectionable prayer" as the Lord's Prayer as sectarian?

Such practice, he argued, was common throughout the world. Horace Mann noted the use of the Bible in the Prussian schools, Guizot approved of it in France. Daniel Webster insisted that Congress open with prayer. In the Continental Congress, Samuel Adams, "with his gray hair hanging about his shoulders, and with an impressive venerableness now seldom to be met with," called "with the air of a perfect Puritan" for men of different faiths to bow the knee together in prayer to the Almighty. In the Federal Convention, Benjamin Franklin called for prayer. In fact, said Draper, a recognition of God was "substantially" found in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the fundamental law of Wisconsin. "Christianity is everywhere incorporated into the law of the land." Franklin was deeply convinced that "*God governs in the affairs of men . . . and in every thoughtful human heart there is an intuitive acquiescence in the truth of the profound remark.*"

So, asked Draper, if Christianity pervaded the rest of society, "why should we wish alone to exclude it from the nurseries of Wisconsin?" It would, of course, be folly to prohibit moral teaching in the schools, and the Bible was "permanently first in importance among text-books for teaching the noblest principles of virtue, morality, patriotism, and good order—love and reverence for God—charity and good will to man."¹⁷

Watertown teachers kept their jobs and continued their early morning devotional exercises while reaction to Draper's essay came fast. He mailed the circular to nearly five thousand Wisconsin teachers

¹⁶ *Watertown Democrat*, May 27, June 3, 10, 17, 1858; W. F. Whyte, "Beginnings of the Watertown School System," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 7 (September, 1923), 86; Daniel Collins to Draper, May 20, 1858.

¹⁷ Lyman C. Draper, "Moral and Religious Instruction in Public Schools," reprinted in the *Tenth Annual Report*, 229-244.

and enjoyed the praise which came. "I honor the man who wrote it," said a Milwaukeean. It was the "best and ablest document" with "unanswerable arguments," said an enthusiast from Prairie du Chien. Moreover, he went on, the whole thing arose from foreigners who were attempting to overthrow American freedom, and who should be told "if they do not like our institutions, the way for their return to the land from whence they came . . . is open." The *Buffalo Republic* thought Draper took a "liberal view," a Baptist minister in Pontotoc, Mississippi praised it, and a co-religionist from Leverington, Pennsylvania, thought "it was just such a document as I would of expected from one whose mind and heart was thoroughly infused with the principles of a Baptist."¹⁸

Not all, however, was praise. One citizen of Cedarburg, Wisconsin wrote a sixteen page protest against the "deathblow" which Draper struck at the separation of church and state—"the cornerstone of our whole political, social, and mental liberty." Draper would turn schools into churches, teachers into priests. Religion was used by crafty men, said the writer, and religious men were the world's greatest rascals. The Bible was a dangerous book, filled with lies that geology denied, and filled with absurd stories of the Deluge, Jonas, Baalam's ass, and the virgin who had a child. The Jews were immoral, their God cruel, and their Mosaic law bestial. In Prussia, and throughout Europe, they taught the Bible because they wanted "obedient subjects and not free sovereign citizens." "I have nothing against religion," he concluded, but he did not want it in the schools.¹⁹

More serious than this fustian blast came as a clipping from the Boston *Investigator*, sent by a citizen of Portage. God was not recognized in the Constitution: it was an atheistic doctrine. And Franklin, the assault on Draper's historical erudition continued, did not say the things Draper quoted. In fact, said the Boston paper, a superintendent of public instruction with so little accurate knowledge was unfit for his office.²⁰

Draper's belief in the power to be derived from reading led directly to his effort to establish a system of school libraries for

¹⁸ John W. Hinton to Draper, June 14, 1858; Alfred Brunson to Draper, June 14, 1858; D. Worthington to Draper, June 15, 1858; J. H. Hoffman to Draper, September 13, 1858; Draper to W. C. Crane, June 21, 1858; clipping from the *Buffalo Republic and Times*, June 17, 1858, in Box 48 of the Draper Correspondence.

¹⁹ B. O. Fastras-Kussan to Draper, July 12, 1858.

²⁰ Morris Altman to Draper, December 28, 1858.

Wisconsin. Before he became a candidate for office, he had begun a survey of libraries in the state. As he began to formulate his educational ideas, he came more and more to the conviction that the state should support school libraries. He corresponded with Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, and he gathered extensive quotations from Dr. Francis Wayland and Washington Irving. Eventually, after much comparison of opinions, Draper evolved a plan for a system of township libraries.

He made his scheme the central feature of his annual report for 1858. The report, a volume of almost four hundred pages, contained the statistics of the schools, elaborate accounts of the school funds, suggestions on teacher training, recommendations for administrative reforms, and the circular on moral and religious instruction. It was the most elaborate report of a governmental agency yet made in Wisconsin, and its heart lay in the expression of the need and advantages of school libraries.²¹

Draper finished writing the report in early December, 1858, but the overworked state printer delayed getting it out until the following March. The Superintendent waited nervously, releasing advance sheets to the newspapers, and writing furiously all over the State to marshal support for his library proposal. In February he drafted a bill creating a school library commission, who would select a list of approved books, providing for township library boards and librarians, and appropriating one-tenth of the revenue from the state school fund and a tenth of a mill tax on property to purchase books for township libraries. He had the bill introduced, prepared publicity releases on it, and waited for the *Annual Report* to come from the printer. As soon as the volume appeared, Draper went into action. He wrote the report of the committee, he buttonholed members in lobbies and in the book-lined rooms of the Historical Society, and he confronted members with the accumulated endorsements of the erudite pundits of culture. "I have worked incessantly," he told Barnard, "wrote committee reports, editorials in our newspapers—and talked, talked, talked." He had "manufactured a public sentiment" — "people need to be awakened, as out of a deep sleep, to the importance of such a subject" — and he won success. With only three weeks to work, he got his measure adopted by a vote of 19 to 3 in the senate, 51 to 10 in the assembly. Governor Randall, thinking a new tax would be unpopular, planned to veto the act,

²¹ Draper, *Tenth Annual Report*.

but Draper hurried the leading men in the legislature to the Governor's office, and "barely passed" the measure.²²

The bill was law, but Randall signed it only because it would not go into effect for another year and another legislature would have an opportunity to repeal the additional tax. Draper still had the task of protecting the law from sniping by the taxpayers and economy-minded legislators. He immediately went to work on a circular for distribution over the state. Henry Barnard, Josiah Pickard and Draper, he announced, would select the books and set the system in operation and protect the state against being cheated by publishers. The fund would provide \$35,000 to \$40,000 for books each year—fifty-three dollars for each township—which would amount to a million dollars worth of books in twenty-five years. Each book, circulating for two weeks, would serve twenty-six persons a year, bringing the choicest literature of the ages into the most remote part of the state. "It is a noble and beneficent law," and will yet be regarded, when fully known, and its benefits begin to be realized, as the most important educational measure ever inaugurated in Wisconsin."²³

The *Report*, impressive by its size and its array of argument and statistics, was well received. Newspapers praised it in extravagant terms, the Governor spoke highly of it, and Draper's friends declared that it was the greatest report since Horace Mann's. And Horace Mann, the true founder of the public school movement, wrote from Antioch that Draper had "presented the most persuasive and effective argument for education that has ever been offered to the World."²⁴

Along with praise for the *Report* went praise for Draper. The *Kenosha Times* thought Draper had "more than met the high expectations of his personal and political friends." *Kenosha's Tribune*, a Republican journal, found Draper a "public officer of untiring industry" whose work deserved commendation. The *Janesville Gazette* found him "a faithful and diligent worker" who had brought system to a badly organized office. Madison's *Argus and Demo-*

²² Assembly Bill 194a, and "District Libraries in Michigan," in the Draper Correspondence; Henry Barnard to Draper, March 22, 1859; J. L. Pickard to Draper, March 26, 1859; George B. Emerson to Draper, April 1, 1859; Henry B. Blackwell to Draper, April 2, 1859.

²³ "Remarks on the New School Library Law," April 8, 1859, in Box 42 of the Draper Correspondence.

²⁴ *Daily Argus and Democrat*, January 24, February 9, March 1, 1859; Horace Mann to Draper, April 2, 1859.

crat pronounced him "the best Superintendent of Public Instruction we ever had."²⁵

Such praise, translated into political terms, constituted a demand that Draper run again. In the beginning he had declared that he was reluctant to lay aside his history for the duties of public office. A few of his friends had criticized his act. One advisor thought the Historical Society needed Draper more than the schools, and "to continue in it you will have to keep out of politics."²⁶ Another regretted Draper's entry at the polls: there was "lots of timber" for the Superintendent of Public Instruction, "but historical investigators are rare." Draper was "guilty of polygamy" in his interests. "Rely upon it, my friend," he advised "polygamy won't do, when you wish to beget great offspring."²⁷

Despite such misgivings, Draper had continued his historical activities. He increased the library and the membership of the Historical Society, and he used his position to build up his personal collections. In August, 1857, ostensibly to learn about school affairs in the neighboring states, he left Madison for Ohio. His zeal for historical investigation soon proved stronger than his educational interests, and he took up, once again, the trail of Simon Kenton. He copied extracts from old newspapers in Cincinnati, picked up an interview with a descendant of Daniel Boone, another with a cousin of D. Bradford of the Whiskey Rebellion, and still another about Samuel Brady's fabulous leap across the Cuyahoga. He went into Kentucky to copy records in Mason County, got documents from Simon Kenton's aged son, and took notes of journals of the Kentucky legislature.²⁸ And, as often happened when he was engaged in historical research, he lost track of time. He interviewed few school men, but he visited Benson J. Lossing, writer of popular history, in Poughkeepsie, New York, and talked with him about collaborating on a biography of Boone.²⁹

Convinced that his historical work did not suffer from his attention to the schools, Draper hoped to continue in office. Lossing advised him to "Be a candidate by all means." From Tennessee came advice from another historian and an equally ardent Democrat. Dr.

²⁵ *Daily Argus and Democrat*, quoting Kenosha and Janesville papers, January 24, February 9, March 1, April 18, 1859.

²⁶ Charles D. Robbins to Draper, August 8, 1857.

²⁷ Unsigned letter from Courtland Village, New York, December 17, 1857.

²⁸ Notebooks in the Draper MSS, 7S, 8S.

²⁹ Benson J. Lossing to Draper, October 14, 1858.

J. G. M. Ramsey, author of the *Annals of Tennessee*, hoped Draper would return to history but wanted him first to save Wisconsin from the Republicans. Draper yielded easily, lined up his friends who would be delegates to the Democrat convention, and began to appear at school rallies and teachers' institutes.

Draper's campaign progressed with every prospect favorable, while his friends freely predicted that he would get "more than a party vote." Splitting a ticket, however, was not easy and was, of course, deplored by all party leaders. Each party printed its own tickets and distributed them to its voters. Draper hit upon a device to enable Republicans to vote for him while casting their ballots for the rest of the Republican ticket. He had his name printed on gummed labels which ticket-splitting Republicans could paste over the name of his opponent. The device was not new. Neither in history, nor education, nor politics was Lyman Draper an originator. In all his activities he was an energetic adopter of other men's ideas, and a pioneer in carrying new ideas to the frontier. The gummed tickets had been used in eastern states where Draper had learned of them. He pioneered in bringing them to Wisconsin.

Unfortunately, he permitted his trusted deputy, S. H. Carpenter, to distribute the tickets. Carpenter was a young man of devotion and energy but of immature judgment. He was one of Draper's hand-picked curators of the Historical Society, and an ardent Baptist who helped Deacon Draper manage the affairs of the local congregation. One of the recipients of the gummed tickets promptly gave Carpenter's letter to the Republican papers. "Dear Brother," began Carpenter, "Can you use the enclosed slips—designed to be pasted on the Republican tickets in place of Mr. Pickard, as they will firmly adhere by wetting."

"Besides aiding in the election of a good and conscientious public officer," added Carpenter, "you will be *aiding our weak Baptist Church in Madison, and our cause in the state* by doing what you consistently can for Brother Draper's election."

The Republican papers pounced upon the inept letter with a fiendish delight. Outraged by the innovation of the gummed tickets, which might indeed threaten party solidarity, they cried: "a more contemptible and dirty little scheme is not to be found recorded in the annals of political chicanery." They were beside themselves over this mingling of politics and religion, and the efforts to enlist sectarian support to carry out "a pious fraud all designed for the good of 'our weak Baptist Church of Madison'."

The common schools should be free from sectarianism. Draper's pledge to use the schools to aid the Baptists was reason enough to defeat him. "Let those who would keep the common schools free and uncontaminated by religious bigotry and prejudice vote for Josiah L. Pickard." "Don't be gummed by Draper's gummed ticket."³⁰

The Democrats, caught unawares, made a weak counter-charge. They alleged that Madison's Republican editor wanted Draper's job in the State Historical Society. But the editor spurned the thought. He had thought Draper was the best man for it until the superintendant had become an active partisan. Draper's course had injured the Historical Society.³¹

On Election Day the voters repudiated Draper's educational leadership. Perhaps the "weak-Baptist-Church" letter had little to do with the result. The Republicans swept all offices and Draper went down with his party. For the rest of his days the historian devoted his efforts to building the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and collecting the papers which eventually made the Draper Collection.

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE
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³⁰ Madison, *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 4-7, 1859.

³¹ *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, November 7, ff, 1859; *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 8-10, 1859.

Anglo-French Trade Conflicts in North America, 1702-1713

When consideration is given to the amount of documentary materials available for study and the important nature of the question, the Anglo-French conflict over trade in North America during Queen Anne's War has received scant attention from secondary writers in a general way and no attention in some fundamental aspects. The trade consisted in the procurement of raw materials from North America and the distribution of European products and wares in the colonies. There was the familiar background of commercial rivalry between England and France for American fish and furs. Then a new need, timber, grew in importance as the necessity for more ships became apparent to ambitious merchants. More ships required more men on the seas. The merchants and colonial producers of both nations, hoping to capture the expanding North American empire abounding in vast supplies of fish, furs, and forests, sought all aid from the courts of the mother countries in what they considered a war for control of the western continent. Complicating the European and American situation were the ever-present privateers, French, British, and colonial, who bothered little about patriotism, wars, or laws, where their own profits were at stake. The specific areas considered in this paper for more detailed study of the elements of conflict are Hudson's Bay, French Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and, most important of all, Newfoundland.

From the very beginning of Queen Anne's War, the English government was besieged by petitions from the Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay area. The object of these numerous petitions was to awaken official circles to the danger from French aggression, which more than once placed the English settlements and trade in a precarious position. One such petition sent by the inhabitants of Carbonear to Queen Anne, December 1, 1702, was characteristic of others submitted during the twelve-year period. The inhabitants referred to existent daily fear of the neighboring French, who in previous wars destroyed English settlements and possessions. As a means to prevent successful repetition of French assaults, a small group of inhabitants contributed money toward the buying of guns and munitions. Forced abandonment of other English settlements

only strengthened the determination of the Carbonear inhabitants to resist the French. They entertained hope that the Queen would quickly provide for the settlement's preservation.¹ The above petition was referred to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, who were advised to consider the most effective means to preserve Newfoundland harbors for the English ships.

The Hudson's Bay Company was also vitally interested in obtaining military assistance from England to cope with French infiltrations into their trade. Petitions from the Company stressed the importance of reducing that part of the Bay then in French possession to the Crown of England.² According to reports, the French incessantly encroached upon trade in this region to the detriment of the English.

The merchants constituted the strongest pressure group from the Newfoundland area. One aggressive merchant became vocally impatient because he considered the English authorities at home more interested in Spanish America than Newfoundland. He believed the seizure of Acadia and control of Newfoundland to be a preliminary measure to the capture of all French North America.³

At this point, several questions arise. Why were the merchants so interested in Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and even in the French possessions? Was it purely a matter of trade or were there more far-reaching objectives behind the desire to control the vast regions of North America? A partial answer to the above questions can be found in the petitions sent by merchants to government officials in England. For example, a petition from Newfoundland merchants to the Council of Trade and Plantations, February 11, 1703, enumerated some of the more outstanding reasons for English control of this area. The merchants stated that the French molested the fishing trade and

that the French Settlement and Fishery there hath been very destructive to our nation in times of peace as well as of warr and of vast advantage to them in bringing up sailors and by their trade in fish; wee most humbly offer to your Lordships that the taking of and possessing of Placentia their chief fortification . . . will be of a unspeakable benefit to these nations in respect of breeding up seamen as well as of trade, increase of H.M.'s

¹ Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, London, 1913, 1702-1703, 1.

² *Ibid.*, 80.

³ W. T. Morgan, *Some Attempts at Imperial Cooperation During the Reign of Queen Anne*, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Series, London, 1927, X, 176; no authority is cited.

Customs and of navigation, as your Lordship are highly sensible of, by the account of shipping in time of peace, when wee had but half the trade, which must consequently be doubled when we have the whole.⁴

One of the most active petitioners was John Roope. He sent numerous addresses to the Council of Trade and Plantations stressing the value of the North American region to the English Crown. In one such address, October 10, 1703, Roope asked for soldiers to restore English possessions now under French influence. Roope reminded the above Council that promised military assistance was not sent and proposed an expedition early in 1704. A small naval force cruising the fishing banks would, he believed, preserve the fishery for the English. More important, it would give additional guarantee for English control over their northern plantations. If Newfoundland and Nova Scotia were in English hands, Quebec and Canada could not subsist for long since all ships going to Canada had to pass through the channel between Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.⁵ Roope's statements brought out the fact that the English, besides desiring to regain their fishing advantages, also coveted French possessions.

In November of 1703, Roope sent another address to the Council of Trade and Plantations and cited further reasons why the English were interested in North America. Roope informed the Council of the abundant supply of timber which was very suitable for booms and masts. At the same time, he emphasized French commercial activity in the Newfoundland region. However, he believed that the French did not understand the true worth of fishery, forests and furs in North America. This, Roope added, was not true of the English who sought to expand their trade and gain additional resources.⁶

Written petitions did not suffice. Groups of merchants traveled to England and personally presented their grievances before the government. One such group spoke before the Council of Trade and Plantations on November 25, 1703, and acquainted the members with the poor state of fishery and trade in Newfoundland.⁷

The sending of petitions was supplemented by active soliciting of funds for the purpose of building up colonial defense. On November 14, 1703, it was recorded that a subscription was made

⁴ *Colonial Calendar*, 1702-1703, 190.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 719.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 849.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 833.

by sixty inhabitants whereby they contributed £9 14s. for the purpose of maintaining spies to procure intelligence about the French at Placentia.⁸ Placentia was considered one of the most valuable fishing and harbor areas. None of the English colonials could reconcile themselves to the loss of Newfoundland and subsequent loss of the fishing industry. To remedy the decrease in fishing trade, the merchants sent a series of petitions to the Council of Trade and Plantations of which that of November 29, 1703, is characteristic. In these petitions, the merchants advocated several measures to encourage the fishing trade which was almost lost at this time. They stated that during previous years there were 200 fishing ships but these had now dwindled down to only 40.⁹ It was suggested that ships leaving English ports, as Poole, Weymouth, Plymouth, Barnstable, Bristol and London, be granted convoy protection in their voyage to Newfoundland. There should be no embargo. Ships were to be allowed only "one seaman to ten tons burthen" for their sailing crew plus as many land men as they considered necessary. The reason for limiting the number of sailors was to ease the burden upon the Royal navy which was needed more desperately on the continent and in other areas. To prevent any fraudulent demands for convoys, owners of ships destined for Newfoundland would make an affidavit of the destination before protection was given.¹⁰ Several of the above suggestions were carried out at one time or another during the period from 1702 to the close of Queen Anne's War in 1713.

The French did not constitute the only source of aggravation to the Newfoundland inhabitants. In a letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations, October 27, 1704, Roope complained about the number of Americans coming to Placentia with quantities of rum. The rum was so coveted by the fishermen that they were intoxicated even at the height of the fishing season, which already was too brief. What was more distressing, the Americans carried away great numbers of seamen to various American plantations while the Queen's navy suffered loss of manpower.¹¹ After 1705, the petitions from Newfoundland grew more desperate with the increasing number of French and Indian raids. Moreover, reports concerning the dwindling trade and other abuses flowed into the

⁸ *Ibid.*, 811.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 846.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 846-847.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1704-1705, 297.

Council even more frequently. All the reports contained pleas for assistance. Two reports of particular interest were submitted by C. Campbell and R. Sampson. On June 20, 1705, Mr. Secretary Hedges received a notation from the Council of Trade and Plantations referring to discrepancies in the two reports.¹² Campbell's report insinuated the possibility of Roope's illegal dealings with the French. The basis of this accusation was Roope's voluntary departure from French custody and his command in one of the French ships.¹³ The outcome of the investigation is not known. The incident was mentioned to illustrate numerous other cases brought before the Council dealing with illegal trade practices. Throughout 1702 to 1713, the question of illegal trade carried on by English colonials more than once forced the Council to adopt severe corrective measures with comparatively poor success.

Increased French activity brought even more feverish pleas from the merchants at Newfoundland and the surrounding areas. A petition submitted June 23, 1705, showed an estimated loss of £140,000 sterling as a result of French incursions into English trade.¹⁴ Some of the reports sent to the Council were ultimately laid before the House of Commons for consideration. On several occasions, the Commons ordered the Council of Trade and Plantations to give a full report on the state of the Newfoundland trade and enclosed specific directions for its preparation.¹⁵ While some of the petitions were sent to the House of Commons, others went directly to the Privy Council after the Council of Trade and Plantations made its recommendations. After receipt of some petitions, the Privy Council adopted positive measures. For example, on February 14, 1706, the Privy Council directed the Admiralty to issue orders for furnishing a year's provision for the garrison located at St. John's, exclusive of malt and hops.¹⁶ Furthermore, the Privy Council added that considering the losses sustained by the Newfoundland inhabitants last winter and the possibility of future French inroads, they believed six good ships would provide security for the fishery season. Some of the ships were to cruise the fishing grounds while others protected the harbors. Immediately after the

¹² *Ibid.*, 543.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 541.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Public Record Office, *Journal of the Commissioners For Trade and Plantations*, from April 1704 to February 1709, London, 1920, 311.

¹⁶ W. L. Grant and James Munro, eds., *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, Colonial Series, Hereford, 1910, 1680-1720, 500.

fishing season was over, the convoy was to escort the ships back home or to the foreign markets for which they were destined.¹⁷ Another channel through which the reports traveled was the House of Lords. The Lords were advised that the French managed to secure good fishing banks and captured skilled Englishmen to work in French fisheries. The report described French fortifications and naval strength. In 1706, the French supposedly had 50 ships, of which 36 were used for fishing. There was one man of war near Placentia.¹⁸ The accuracy of the various reports concerning French installations could not be verified by this writer.

The year 1708 proved disastrous for Newfoundland commercial interests. In this year, the French completely drove the English from St. John's and destroyed fishing stages and settlements. French incursions brought pleas for assistance. On May 19, 1708, James Campbell was advised that the Council of Trade and Plantations took into consideration some matters relating to French encroachments. The Council advised Campbell to consult with other merchants whose trade was jeopardized by the French and submit the account to the Council.¹⁹ How much was done to alleviate the distress of the Newfoundland merchants and inhabitants could not be determined. Apparently, the assistance was insufficient since on February 8, 1709, one merchant wrote to Campbell that if aid did not come by Spring, the Island of Carbonear and other possessions could not be protected from French depredations. Moreover, the merchants would make no voyages unless the English government took positive action to safeguard them.²⁰ In the middle of 1709, the Hudson's Bay Company began to voice loud protests over French infiltrations into their territory and commercial traffic. In response to a request for an account of French encroachments, the Governor and Adventurers associated with the Company sent a petition to the Queen, May 23, 1709. The petition stated that notwithstanding numerous losses and discouragements under which they labored, the Company brought in between 30,000 to 40,000 skins per annum. If they were completely reinstated in the rights granted by their charter, they were confident of importing 100,000 skins per annum. Other commodities for which the region was valuable were whale-bone and whale oil. The development of the whale oil industry

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 500-501.

¹⁸ Maurice Bond, ed., *The Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, New Series, London, 1921, VII, 286-287.

¹⁹ *Colonial Calendar*, 1708-1709, 304, from William Popple.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 218.

was of particular interest since England imported this oil from Holland and Germany to the value of £26,000 a year.²¹ The Hudson's Bay Company stressed still another contributing factor which made it important for the English to control this disputed area.

There is carried thither and consumed there nothing but of the product and manufacture of England, Petitioners encouraging and daily bringing the Indians to wear coarse cloth instead of skins, which in process of time will considerably advance the woollen trade at home.²²

Hudson's Bay was more than a source of raw materials, it was also a market for English manufactures. Therefore, the petitioners urged that the final treaty of peace should force the French King to renounce all claims to the Bay and Streights of Hudson. It was furthermore suggested that the French surrender all posts and settlements erected by them in this area, refrain from sailing their ships within the limits stipulated by the charter, and make restitution of £108,514 19s. 8d.—the amount of French spoils of English property. The Queen acted favorably toward the above petition.²³

By 1711, the English had already built up important trading organizations in North America, and French naval and military ventures had failed to achieve their objective—the destruction of the English commercial network. However, the French managed to cause sufficient damage to warrant serious complaints from the inhabitants of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Hudson's Bay. The complaints were accompanied by reports on the value of these regions to the Crown. On June 15, 1711, Samuel Vetch wrote to Popple regarding the abundant timber in Nova Scotia. Vetch mentioned that he was sending twenty masts for "trial." He said the timber was much better further inland but too expensive to procure unless the Queen despatched positive orders. There was some reference to copper mines and supplies of marble.²⁴ Still another report complained that the French were able to sell numerous commodities cheaper than the English, e.g., salt, wine, brandy, canvas, nails, rosin, and silk, which would allow them to become masters of the trade.²⁵

The constant emphasis upon the value of the trade so carefully guarded by Newfoundland merchants and those of Hudson's

²¹ *Ibid.*, 305.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1710-1711, 551-552.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1712-1714, 117-118, 1712.

Bay necessitates some investigation into the exact value of the trade. Was it enough to justify the conflicts with the French? Did the war cause a decrease in the trade? If so, to what extent? Though complete statistics are unavailable, the following observations can be made.

With respect to the fishing industry, statistics indicated a definite decrease in trade after the outbreak of Queen Anne's War in 1702. For example, in 1700 there were 171 fishing ships, 800 boats and 765 inhabitants' boats engaged in Newfoundland fishery. In 1701 there were 75 fishing ships, 338 boats and there was no record of the inhabitants' boats for this year. But in 1702 there were only 16 fishing ships, 35 boats and 380 inhabitants' boats. In 1703, 23 fishing ships, 44 boats and only 214 inhabitants' boats were counted.²⁶ During 1702 the total quantity of fish caught was 82,140 cwt., of which 56,590 cwt. was carried to market.²⁷ During 1703, the number of fish caught decreased to 75,000 cwt.²⁸ The report for 1704 is most incomplete. There is no indication of prices received for fish nor a complete breakdown of the ultimate destination of the products.

It would be worthwhile to glance briefly at the statistics dealing with England's imports and exports with Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay for the first three-year period, 1702-1704. Figures on exports can, in a small measure, indicate the value of this area

ENGLAND'S IMPORTS AND EXPORTS—TABLE A
1702-1704

LOCATION	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
Newfoundland	32,233	20,799
Hudson's Bay	54,745*	972*
Jamaica	516,305	351,502
New England	100,388	199,129
New York	25,976	69,747
Germany	1,867,323	2,556,387
Spain	297,250*	145,278*
Portugal	781,767	1,955,370
Holland	1,715,695	6,383,990

* Statistics incomplete. All figures refer to pounds.
All figures taken from Whitworth's *State of Trade*,
Part I, 7-8, and Part II, 25,55.

²⁶ D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland*, London, 1896, 251.

²⁷ *Report of the British Board of Trade and Plantations*, November, 1702, Bulletin of the New York Public Library, Vol. X, 1906, 273. Some discrepancy in regards to figures in these reports.

²⁸ *Report of the British Board of Trade and Plantations*, December, 1703, Bulletin of the New York Public Library, Vol. XI, 1907, 494.

as a market for English commodities as well as a source of raw materials. These figures are even more important when viewed in the light of those showing England's commercial relations with other European powers, Spanish possessions and her own American colonies. Table A gives some indication of these proportions.

Judging by the above statistics, England had an unfavorable balance of trade with the two areas. The incompleteness of the reports makes them a poor guide for a detailed study of commerce with this region during 1702 to 1704. However, the few figures which were available proved to be useful in the sense that they threw some light on the value of trade. There were no statistics available for Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Canada and Quebec. The data on trade coincided virtually with the years in which England secured control over these areas. While persistent reference to English trade in the above-mentioned areas aroused curiosity, it is always difficult, if not impossible, to obtain concrete evidence of illegal or contraband trade. Most of the statistics used were compiled from reports submitted by naval officers who visited the specific areas.

The year 1705 saw a small decrease in the number of fishing ships and inhabitants' boats. However, 1706 figures showed an upward trend. There were 46 fishing ships, 136 boats and 232 inhabitants' boats engaged in Newfoundland fishing.²⁹ The quantity of dry fish produced during 1706 amounted to 106,270 cwt., a definite increase over preceding years. The price of fish was listed at 15s. per cwt. and oil at £14 per ton. The fish were carried to markets at Leghorn, Italy, to Portugal, and to the parts of Spain with which England had commerce. In addition, some of the fish were sold to New England and the West Indies. The oil was destined for England.³⁰ In 1707, the number of fishing ships and boats increased but the production of fish did not increase proportionately. Captain John Underdown submitted a report November 28, 1707, and quoted the amount of fish produced as 110,282 cwt. During this year, the prices of fish and oil rose. English sources blamed the low production of fish and oil upon French intrusion and privateering.³¹ A brief glance at the overall English import and export trade with Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay for the above three-year period is indicated. Table B shows a considerable decrease in imports from both these areas but a definite increase in the exports.

²⁹ Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, 251.

³⁰ *Colonial Calendar*, 1706-1708, 299.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 609.

ENGLAND'S IMPORTS AND EXPORTS—TABLE B
1705-1707

LOCATION	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
Newfoundland	25,876	27,858
Hudson's Bay	7,024*	2,979*
Jamaica	435,533	477,537
New England	83,996	240,185
New York	24,525	88,345
Germany	1,903,321	3,119,642
Spain	265,684	220,297
Portugal	704,983	2,196,434
Holland	1,789,979	6,396,144

* Statistics incomplete. All figures refer to pounds.
All figures taken from Whitworth's *State of Trade*,
Part I, 9-10-11.

While Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay figures are low in comparison with those for other markets, they still denote an extensive trade. The statistics for 1708 up to 1710 suffer from the same malady—incompleteness. During these years, Newfoundland reports claimed a marked increase in French activities. The following figures might give some indication of the validity of the complaints. Did the English suffer a decrease in fishery and trade, and if so, to what extent? Statistics for 1708 showed an increase over 1707 as far as ships, boats, fish and oil production was concerned. Records showed a total of 135,934 cwt. of fish caught.³² However, in 1709, there was a decrease in the number of fishing boats and production of fish, and the price of fish took another upward trend.³³ The following year, the number of ships decreased again but the production of fish rose. The report for this year stated 18 American ships engaged in the fishing trade. Fish brought 15 to 16s. per cwt. and oil £15 to £16 per ton.³⁴ Taking into consideration all the compilations of figures, the fishing industry did not suffer to any considerable extent. With respect to imports and exports, Table C failed to indicate any tremendous changes for the 1708-1710 period. However, due to the persistent incompleteness of the statistics, it is necessary to refrain from coming to any positive conclusions about the actual state of trade.

Statistics for the period from 1711 to 1713 corroborated the complaints of the merchants and inhabitants in Newfoundland. There was a notable decrease in the production of fish and oil. In 1711,

³² *Ibid.*, 1710-1711, 324, Report December 18, 1710.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1708-1709, 526-527, November 18, 1709.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 283-284, November 26, 1710.

ENGLAND'S IMPORTS AND EXPORTS—TABLE C
1708–1710

LOCATION	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
Newfoundland	34,693	36,934
Hudson's Bay	55,186*	3,185*
Jamaica	667,159	488,974
New England	110,306	342,192
New York	31,308	92,951
Germany	1,580,169	3,033,066
Spain	723,947	620,150
Portugal	716,096	1,881,579
Holland	1,856,634	6,546,494

* Statistics incomplete. Those shown above in pounds.
All figures taken from Whitworth's *State of Trade*,
Part I, 12–13–14.

there were 62 fishing ships, 557 fishing boats, 55 sack ships and 10 ships from the American colonies engaged in fishing. The total number of fish caught was 120,546 cwt., of which 118,900 cwt. was carried to market. The price of fish and oil remained at the 1710 level.³⁵ During 1712, there were 66 fishing ships, 568 boats, 17 sack ships and 20 American ships in Newfoundland waters. However, records showed a marked decrease in the number of fish caught during this year was about half of the 1712 production, or 64,430 cwt.³⁶ Statistics for 1713 were very incomplete. The only figures available dealt with the number of fishing ships and boats. The total number of fishing ships decreased to 46. Reports sub-

ENGLAND'S IMPORTS AND EXPORTS—TABLE D
1711–1713

LOCATION	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
Newfoundland	42,458	23,580
Hudson's Bay	13,043	2,358
Jamaica	673,246	380,076
New England	101,019	386,304
New York	39,087	93,850
Germany	1,548,519	2,176,792
Spain	991,623	1,124,591
Portugal	645,888	1,768,774
Holland	1,732,450	6,658,752

Figures represent pounds.

All Statistics taken from Whitworth's *State of Trade*, Part I, 15–16–17.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, July, 1711–June, 1712, 128–129, Report of October 31, 1711.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1712–1714, 78–79, Report of Sir Nicholas Trevanion, October 29, 1712.

mitted by naval officers quoted the number of fishing boats as 645, an increase over 1712 figures.³⁷ Records of English imports and exports bore no significant data. From Table D it is evident that for the above three-year period the imports were much greater than the exports. The only sharp decrease is evident in Hudson's Bay import figures.

From the preceding tables, it is obvious that while the amount of commerce with Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay was overshadowed by trade with other markets, it was still of considerable value and importance. The French placed great value upon this trade, enough to warrant a claim of commercial rivalry.

A brief reference to French anti-English operations would serve to illustrate that during 1702 to 1713 the French did oppose the expansion of English commercial ascendancy in North America. From the outset of the war in 1702, French privateers plagued English ships in the Atlantic and Mediterranean. The French raided English ports and harbors in Newfoundland, damaged fishing stages and property, and eventually occupied the entire territory. The encouragement and sanctuary given to privateers by the French allowed them to inflict much damage to English commerce. A letter written by M. Subercase to Lieutenant Moody, February 1705, upon English surrender at St. John's fort, clearly stated the French opinions. Subercase wrote that it was his intention to possess himself of all English settlements and completely ruin English trade.³⁸ However, French military success in Newfoundland brought few commercial advantages. Various memoranda brought out the diminishing importance of the fur trade as far as the French were concerned. The French blamed the decrease on their failure to control the supply, decline of demand, disorganization of trade in Europe, and the increasing trade of the English. The misfortunes of Canada presented new opportunities for the English commercially-minded colonials. Despite prohibitory restrictions, there were accusations of French trading ventures with the English. In 1706, the French proposed to build forts and take possession of Niagara, thus keeping the English away and ruining their trade with the Indians.

The Indian trade was another point of controversy between the two nations. The French accused the English of supplying the Indians with powder and lead, which permitted them to become

³⁷ Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, 251.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 243.

masters of trade by becoming masters of the Indians.³⁹ Of particular interest was the growing importance of the woollen industry in England which found an outlet in Indian trade. The Indians favored brightly-colored cloths and woollens and bought these items from the English, perhaps by exchanging furs previously given to the French. A report sent by the French in 1707 claimed the English supplied the Indians with cloths much more cheaply than they and, therefore, were able to sell numerous other items to the detriment of French trade.⁴⁰ The French realized the English were interested in a great deal more than merely taking over the fur trade and fishing. While driving the French out of North America would secure all the furs, fishing, and timber for England, it would also make it impossible for France to supply her European markets with these commodities. English claims regarding loss of trade during the period from 1708 to 1713 were contradicted by the French. The Indian trade and illegal trade practices were a constant source of aggravation between England and France.

Early French destruction of English trade and commerce brought forth countless petitions, addresses and demands from the American English colonials. On September 29, 1702, the Governor of New York, Lord Cornbury, wrote to the Council of Trade and Plantations that the only effective way to secure the whole North American continent for England would be to drive the French completely out of Canada. Cornbury realized this would prove costly but at the same time believed the advantages would more than compensate England for her efforts.⁴¹ On December 10, 1702, the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, Colonel Dudley, referred to another source of uneasiness for the English colonies—detrimental French influence upon the Indians.⁴² On February 25, 1703, the Minutes of the Council of the Massachusetts Bay bore further evidence of the importance of preserving peaceful Indian relations. The minutes referred to the efforts of three French officers to instigate the Indians against the English, with but little success. The Indians informed the officers that the French could not supply their needs and that they were dependent upon the English for the necessary

³⁹ E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Procured by John Romeyn Brodhead, Albany, 1855, Paris Documents, IX, 773-774.

⁴⁰ Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, New Haven, 1930, 79.

⁴¹ Morgan, *Some Attempts at Imperial Cooperation*, 176, cites Colonial Office Records.

⁴² *Colonial Calendar*, 1702-1703, 34.

goods.⁴³ The above statement was interesting since it brought out the fact that the English carried on trade with the Indians, although the extent of the trade could not be determined. The role of the Indians in the commercial setup between England and France is a complex but significant one.

The threat of Indian uprisings was not the sole concern of the American colonials. The French forces situated in Canada constituted an ever-menacing danger to the English colonies. All the colonies were agreed as to the potential danger and desired to cooperate with the English military forces to drive the French out of North America, though some were more reluctant than others. The colonists entertained a high degree of confidence in their ability to capture Canada and prevent any French encroachments in the future.⁴⁴

In their effort to curb French depredations upon English colonial trade, on March 20, 1703, the Council of Massachusetts Bay suggested the imposition of an embargo upon all outward bound ships until further notice. Information reached Massachusetts officials that a considerable number of French privateers from Canada arrived at Port Royal with the specific purpose of infesting and annoying the English coastal trade.⁴⁵ A week later, the Massachusetts Council in Assembly read a very interesting motion.

Whereas we are daily infested by the enemy living at Port Royal and likely to be deprived of our provisions that we have our great dependence upon for our subsistence by their vessels that are continually taking their opportunities to surprize the same, and are thereby forced to be at great cost and charge to provide ships and forces for our security therefrom, we are of opinion that an essay should be made for the taking of Port Royal and the places adjacent, and that encouragement be given to such volunteers as may present to engage in that service by allowing them all plunders thereof, saving the rights of H.M., and that the Province shall supply them with victuals for carrying on the said expedition.⁴⁶

The above not only showed apprehension over French privateering and the determination to give colonial support, but it clearly emphasized the initiative in a movement which probably should have come from England herself. Ultimately, the greatest share in the military campaigns was contributed by the colonials, without the promised assistance from England.

Dudley's numerous suggestions for driving the French out of

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 224

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 129, January 16, 1703.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 488.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 297.

Canada were warmly received by Cornbury, who himself advocated the expulsion. In addition to the above two officials, there were many others who believed the English occupation of Canada would prove a valuable venture. Colonel Robert Quarry, an Admiralty judge in Pennsylvania, said the original cost of the expedition would be repaid by the increase trade.⁴⁷ All of the advocates for an expedition to Canada mentioned the threat to the governments of North America if the French were allowed to remain and continue their assaults.

During 1704, the Massachusetts Bay colony and Dudley were even more actively engaged in curbing French encroachments. This province continued to send petitions to the Crown and to raise funds to equip land forces. Judging from the amount of commercial activity which originated from this colony, it is rather simple to understand that it was more exposed to French forays than some of the others and, therefore, more willing to do its share in the military struggle. While previous addresses did not stress the economic motives for the capture of Canada, the Massachusetts Bay address to the Queen, July 12, 1704, clearly referred to the French destruction of trade and fishery. Massachusetts urged the other colonies should join in the fight to drive off the common enemy.⁴⁸ Some of the other colonies refused to contribute their share unless immediately threatened with the French menace.

A letter written by Dudley on November 26, 1704, was even more explicit about the importance of trade in Anglo-French relations. Control over Canada meant control of the trade in furs and fishery, not to mention naval stores and peaceful Indian relations.⁴⁹ Although Dudley's plans were well received by the Council of Trade and Plantations, acting upon them was deferred pending more important continental matters. Despite lack of English military support, Dudley carried out a series of assaults upon French villages. A letter to William Popple, November 27, 1704, spoke of weakened French resistance and the effectiveness of naval support in destroying Quebec and Port Royal.⁵⁰

The French grew more determined to curb English commercial ascendancy in North America after 1705 but the American colonials were just as resolute to drive them away and to maintain and increase their trade and commerce. The Massachusetts Bay colony was

⁴⁷ Morgan, *Some Attempts at Imperial Cooperation*, 176, August 10, 1703, to Board of Trade.

⁴⁸ *Colonial Calendar*, 1704-1705, 212.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 324-325, to Mr. Secretary Hedges.

⁵⁰ *House of Lords MSS*, VII, 272; also *Colonial Calendar*, 1704-1705, 325.

most active in taking both offensive and defensive measures against the French. This colony bore the expense for a great deal of military supplies and fortifications. A report submitted by William Blathwayt to the Lord High Treasurer, January 22, 1705, referred to the very high expenses and requested the furnishings of ordnance for the province since the colony had no revenue at its disposal with which to support the fortifications built in Boston harbor. The report mentioned revenue amounting to £40,949 6s. 7d. was raised during 1704 but was wholly appropriated for carrying on the war against the French and Indians.⁵¹ The American colonials were expected to receive remuneration from prizes taken from French and English privateers operating contrary to law. On March 15, 1705, Nathaniel Cary, merchant, sent a petition in behalf of the Massachusetts Bay province asking that money seized from Captain Quelch — £2,500 — be given to the province. The cost of defending the colony amounted to about £20,000 a year. Moreover, 140 ships had been lost to French confiscations.⁵² The question of remuneration for colonial expenditures arose consistently. However, there was virtually no evidence to the effect that England undertook to compensate the colonials for their financial losses.

Clandestine trade between English privateers and the French was another constant source of grief to the colonies. It was a doubly serious matter when important officials and citizens were accused of this illegal trade. One example was Samuel Vetch. A report dated February 20, 1707, reviewed Vetch's supposed trading activities with the French. When Vetch reached Boston after one expedition, he was tried, imprisoned and fined £200.⁵³ The general impression was that Vetch did not suffer loss of prestige since he was later nominated to go to Canada and then to England in an official capacity.

By 1707, the American colonials grew more anxious to obtain both naval and military assistance from England. Dudley wrote to the Council of Trade and Plantations urging the reduction of Canada and Acadia. One such letter, February 18, 1707, stated the occupation of Canada would

reduce all the dependent Indians to a vassalage to the English Government, secure the whole trade of furs, Nava Stores, the fishery for Spain and elsewhere intirely into the English hands, to the unaccountable proffitt of

⁵¹ Joseph Redington, ed., *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, London, 1874, 1702-1707, 136.

⁵² *Ibid.* 327.

⁵³ *Acts of The Privy Council*, unbound, VI, 52-55.

the nation, as well as glory to H.M. victorious arms, and the loss to the French would be in all things equall to the English gain.⁵⁴

After sending numerous petitions and letters to England, Dudley learned that while there was a great deal of encouragement from the mother country, there was no material assistance. England was at first prepared to grant some aid until continental losses commanded the scene. Lack of assistance failed to restrain Dudley from embarking upon an expedition to Port Royal. Partial success brought forth many accusations against Dudley's management of the expedition. A letter from Robert Livingston to Mr. Lowndes, June 2, 1707, illustrated Dudley's doubtful position in the colony as far as other prominent citizens were concerned.⁵⁵

Throughout the following years, the colonials stood the burden of fighting the French forces and destroying French commerce. The numerous petitions directed to the Crown stressed the value of Canada as a source for fisheries, forests and furs. Moreover, if the French were allowed to remain so close to English colonies, they presented a continual menace to their peaceful existence. French control of Port Royal presented still another problem for the colonists. From Port Royal the French could intercept shipping, annoy fishing and generally hurt the trade of England.

In 1708, Vetch, a friend of Dudley, began to exercise considerable influence in plans for the coming invasion of Canada. Apparently, Vetch's implication in illegal trade did not bar him from assuming his influential position. On July 27, 1708, Vetch personally presented a paper before the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations entitled: "Canada Survey'd, or the French Dominions upon the Continent of America briefly considered in their situation, strength, trade and number, and a method proposed of easily removing them." The paper was well received by the Commissioners who successfully petitioned the Queen to allow Vetch 10s. a day for as long as his services were needed by them.⁵⁶ Vetch stated it was hard to understand why a nation like England, so powerful in trade and numerous in subjects, should tamely allow a troublesome French neighbor to sit down beside them. Moreover, the close proximity of the French obstructed English trade over all the colonies and would in time cause their ruin unless prevented at the earliest moment. Vetch claimed that the half of one year's commercial

⁵⁴ *Colonial Calendar*, 1706-1708, 592.

⁵⁵ *Treasury Calendar*, 1702-1707, 512.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1708-1714, 55.

losses suffered from the French would be sufficient to finance the cost of expelling them from Canada and Newfoundland. Once England possessed all the continent of North America, the Crown would have territory amounting to four kingdoms the size of Great Britain.⁵⁷ As far as trade was concerned, Vetch accused the French of glutting European markets with fish and furs. Moreover, the supply of timber and naval stores was another reason for English control over all of North America. On December 1, 1708, the Council of Trade and Plantations favorably reported on Vetch's scheme but was undecided whether the method for driving the French out of Canada would be the most effectual.⁵⁸ On March 1, 1709, the Queen sent a letter to Vetch giving her approval to his plans stating that she decided to answer the numerous pleas from the inhabitants of North America. To put the plans into operation, the Governors of the various provinces were issued directives to provide both men and supplies. All of the preparations were to be completed when a fleet from England arrived.⁵⁹

And to the end that nothing may be wanting on our part towards engaging the severall Governments to act with the uttmost spirit and vigour in this expedition, you shall assure them in our name, that such of the Governments as contribute towards the reduction of Canada, shall have a preference both with regard to the soyl and trade of the country, when reduced, to any other of our subjects, and when they shall have concerted among themselves any reasonable proposall for the procuring to their respective Colonys, the benefitt of the said soyl and trade, we shall not be wanting to give our Royall sanction to the same.⁶⁰

Promise of royal assistance generated feverish activity among the colonials. Men, supplies and money were contributed toward the coming expedition. However, a letter from Thomas Cockerill to Popple, July 2, 1709, indicated that not all the colonials favored war with the French. The farmers, Cockerill said, were heartily in favor of the expedition while the Albany traders, who benefited from French trade, opposed it.⁶¹

When time for the English fleet to arrive drew near, the Queen wrote that the navy's presence was more urgently needed elsewhere. The disappointed colonials wrote to the Queen to fulfill her pledge. In the back of their minds were the unfulfilled promises made in

⁵⁷ *Colonial Calendar*, 1708-1709, 41-42.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 230-232.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 409.

1709. After some delays, Nicholson decided to attack the French possessions solely with the colonial and Indian force, and the provincial assemblies approved his plans. On October 16, 1710, the colonial forces successfully captured Port Royal. Immediately after Port Royal's capture, Nicholson wrote to the Queen showing no bitter resentment against the failure to grant assistance. It must be mentioned that while the Queen had contributed a few ships of war and some marines which Nicholson brought back from England, it was the remainder of the fleet that the colonials awaited. In the letter, Nicholson referred to Canada as the next objective to be undertaken against the French.⁶²

After Port Royal capitulated, Nicholson, together with the Council of War, issued an official declaration to the inhabitants, prohibiting them from molesting English subjects under pain of military execution. Moreover, under the same penalty, the inhabitants were forbidden to trade or correspond with any French in Canada or other dominions. Annapolis Royal was designated as the only and official port of commerce in Nova Scotia.⁶³ A similar declaration issued the same day applied to English subjects who were warned not to trade with any part of Nova Scotia, which was now under Her Majesty's protection, unless the traffic came through Annapolis Royal. Any disregard for the law placed the English subjects in the same category as illegal traders and made their goods liable to confiscation.⁶⁴ The warning to the English subjects almost pointed to a high degree of illegal inter-colonial trade which the mother country found difficult to control. It also indicated a firm desire to exercise direction of trade carried on in the newly-acquired area.

The capture of Port Royal brought much rejoicing among the American colonials. Partial expulsion of the French, however, was not to be tolerated and plans were submitted for another expedition to invade Quebec and Montreal during 1711. Massachusetts and the other colonies sent petitions to the Crown enumerating the vast advantages to be reaped by controlling all of North America. The potential market for the resources was not overlooked. Up to 1711, the three successive attempts to drive the French out of Canada had failed. The comparatively mild degree of success experienced by

⁶² *Ibid.*, 1710-1711, 245, October, 1710.

⁶³ Gustave Lanctot, ed., *Documents Relating to Currency, Exchange and Finance in Nova Scotia, 1675-1758*, Ottawa, 1933, 17, October 12, 1710.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

the colonial forces could have been most effective if the mother country co-operated in accordance with her promises.

The taste of military success in 1710 whetted the appetites of the American colonials to seek new and greater conquests, no less than Canada itself. The Queen sanctioned colonial enthusiasm and made a new offer of assistance. On February 6, 1711, the Queen sent instructions to Robert Hunter, Governor of New York, and deplored the ruin of English trade at French hands. She agreed that the only sure way to prevent further depredations was to acquire complete control over Canada and Newfoundland. Domination of this region would place numerous resources at England's disposal and tend to rejuvenate home industries.⁶⁵

However, the combined English and American forces failed. The French successfully repelled the new expedition and forestalled English domination of Canada until a later date. News of the failure brought accusations of incompetency against military and naval leaders, especially colonial officers. Despite the lack of success, colonial leaders confidently insisted that the boundaries of Canada be drawn to give England every advantage.

Like a bad penny, the problem of illegal trade turned up time and time again. Reproach from England only tended to aggravate the colonial leaders who had unsuccessfully attempted to disrupt contraband trade. Citizens even sent reports to England, directly over the heads of colonial officials. For example, on May 5, 1712, the Queen received a report from Mahuman Hinsdell, which gave substance to the claim that the merchants of Albany carried on a profitable trade with the Indians in French Canada.⁶⁶

Having taken into consideration the petitions from Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, French activities, the interest of the American colonials, and the value of the territory at stake, it is now important to study the reaction in England. What effect did all the petitions and addresses have on officials of the Crown and on the Crown itself? Was there any pressure within England itself to safeguard the trade and commerce in Newfoundland and the Canadian region? Were any laws passed to protect this trade? It is impossible to answer these questions completely.

Prior to William III's death, March 8, 1702, and formal declaration of war, England placed a complete embargo on traffic into the

⁶⁵ Beatrice Curtis Brown, *The Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne*, London, 1935, 320-322.

⁶⁶ *Colonial Calendar*, 1711-1712, 276.

Newfoundland area. Although the Privy Council was besieged with permits to sail, only eight ships carrying munitions and ordnance were given permission to go to Newfoundland. After William's death, the embargo became less stringent, perhaps for the reason that English commercial interests gained more power under Queen Anne. However, once war was declared in May of 1702, the embargo was again put into effect. During the entire span of the war the embargo was laid and then lifted after pressure was applied by merchant groups.⁶⁷

At the very outset of the war, proposals were submitted to the Houses of Commons and Lords depicting the tremendous advantages English possession of Canada would bring. Such ownership and control would not only hinder French fishing but consequently diminish French maritime power.⁶⁸ As early as March 26, 1702, the Council of Trade and Plantations submitted recommendations to the Privy Council for the improvement of the Newfoundland fishery. Several abuses were mentioned and efforts were made to adopt corrective measures. Similar abuses existed throughout the period and were repeated in the countless petitions and reports sent to England. The first object for reform was the poor management of the fisheries. Secondly, the admirals and fishing masters did not observe the rules set down by Act of Parliament. Thirdly, vessels from Newfoundland supplied the inhabitants of Newfoundland with the necessary provisions. Fourthly, European goods were carried directly from France, Spain and Portugal to Newfoundland in English ships contrary to law. Lastly, New England traders stole English sailors for their own service.⁶⁹

The report of the Board of Trade and Plantations, submitted to Parliament November 18, 1702, emphasized the importance of Newfoundland trade and fishery. The report stated the fishery required constant care to prevent irregularities practiced both by the inhabitants and fishing admirals. The Board informed Parliament that they had prepared instructions which were sent to heads of Enquiries, whose purpose it was to determine the actual state of the Newfoundland trade.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Charles Burnet Judah, Jr., *The North American Fisheries and British Policy to 1713*, Urbana, 1933, University of Illinois Bulletin, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, 166.

⁶⁸ Thomas Park, ed., *The Harleian Miscellany*, a Collection of Scarce, Curious and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts, London, 1808, I, 393.

⁶⁹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1680-1720, 397-398.

⁷⁰ *Report of British Board of Trade and Plantations*, 1702, 273.

The possibility of losing entirely the fishing industry in Newfoundland aroused the English merchants who sent fishing fleets into this region. Prior to the outbreak of the war, many merchants saw no reason for the establishment of an official British garrison on Newfoundland. However, early in 1703, after only one year of war, the merchants demanded that the French be driven completely from Newfoundland.⁷¹ For example, the merchants of Poole sent a petition to the Queen on January 11, 1703. In the petition, the merchants acknowledged the previous care exercised the preceding summer in sending some ships of war and land forces into Newfoundland, but they insisted that the northern section of this territory was insecure.⁷²

The merchants' plea brought fast results. On January 13, 1703, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty directed several ships from Jamaica to leave for Newfoundland early in the fishing season to enable careful investigation of French settlements and fishery in this area. The investigations precipitated a series of reports referring to the vast supplies of raw materials available in this region, together with the inexhaustible supplies of timber suitable for masts and building. The growing commercial importance of Newfoundland and Canada to England was marked by greater assistance to the merchants trading in this region. On February 11, 1703, Popple wrote to Josiah Burchett on behalf of the Council of Trade and Plantations desiring information as to the convoy designated by the Queen to safeguard the fleets destined for the fisheries.⁷³ Eleven days later, Burchett asked for an account of what fishing ships and sack ships would leave England and would need a convoy up to Newfoundland. He stressed the necessity for convoy in more vital areas but added that all possible care would be taken to secure the Newfoundland trade.⁷⁴ Immediately following Burchett's request, the various ports of England began to send in the number of ships which were to leave for Newfoundland. The lists submitted by the ports were incomplete compared with those sent in after 1705. However, they served to illustrate that there was commercial traffic between England and Newfoundland. The ports of Biddiford, Barnstable, Fawey, Exeter, Poole, Plymouth and Dartmouth sent in lists of outward bound ships.

⁷¹ Judah, *North America Fisheries*, 166.

⁷² *Colonial Calendar*, 1702-1703, 110.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 208.

Attention given to trade amounted to more than a mere grant of convoys. On March 19, 1703, the Council of Trade and Plantations wrote to the Queen for protection concerning Newfoundland harbors against French raids. They advised a more adequate land force and supplies.⁷⁵ A letter written by the Earl of Nottingham to the Lord High Treasurer, March 24, 1703, showed evidence of the Queen's interest. Nottingham wrote that the Queen wished an examination made of the necessary items to supply a foot company of 80 private men besides officers, who the letter added, were to leave by the next convoy.⁷⁶ When considered in the light of modern warfare, 80 soldiers appear to be a ridiculous force, but, in those days and, particularly in the Newfoundland area, even a small force could prevent French encroachments even if it did not take the offensive.

At the close of 1703, the Board of Trade and Plantations prepared a report on the state of trade in Newfoundland. Commenting upon the petitions sent by merchants, the Board recommended that two or more men of war be sent for protecting the fishing ships during the next season. There was some concern over the loss of salt ships coming from Portugal and the Board asked that similar convoy protection be accorded these vessels. Another important matter was the necessity of installing booms and chains across the various harbors in Newfoundland to keep out the French.⁷⁷

French activity in Newfoundland waters created disturbance among the English merchants who saw their rivals profiting from the abundant fishery. On February 5, 1704, Mr. Webber, from Barnstable, wrote to the Council of Trade and Plantations concerning the great number of French ships occupied in fishing, which undoubtedly increased the number of seamen. Moreover, the French not only supplied their own country with fish, but were able to market them in Spain, Portugal and Italy, where they always arrived before the English to the utter destruction of English trade.⁷⁸ The above and numerous other petitions all stressed two of the important reasons why England desired to take the fishery from the French. First, loss of the continental market to the French hurt English trade and commerce. Secondly, use of Newfoundland as a breeding ground for seamen built up French maritime power. Till the close of 1704, merchants continued emphasizing the importance

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 276-277.

⁷⁶ *Treasury Calendar*, 1702-1707, 133.

⁷⁷ *Report of British Board of Trade and Plantations*, 1702, 479.

⁷⁸ *Colonial Calendar*, 1704-1705, 29.

of the above two reasons and urged the sending of more reinforcements to protect the inhabitants and fishery, for example, the merchants of Bristol.⁷⁹ From 1705 on, the land of fish, forests and furs became one focal point for Anglo-French commercial warfare.

During 1705 and the following years, the interest engendered in England itself more than corresponded with that exhibited by the Newfoundland merchants and American colonials. For obvious reasons, the merchants trading to Newfoundland raised the loudest protests against the loss of trade. William Cary sent a memorandum dated January 10, 1705, in which he presented still further reasons for driving the French out of Newfoundland. Once the French were expelled, England would not only have the Spanish, Portuguese and Italian markets to herself, but she would draw silver and other commodities into the nation. Newfoundland was also a fine training ground for sailors. In another part of the memorandum, Cary stated that the Newfoundland trade required nothing but the growings and manufacture of the English nation, nets, lines, fishing hooks, beer, beef, pork and peas. This beneficial trade with Newfoundland would not only ultimately be of much more benefit than both the Indies, but would annoy the French in a very sensitive part.⁸⁰ On February 14, 1705, Mr. Clayton reported on the Newfoundland trade and reiterated many of Cary's recommendations. He concluded his report with a plea for timely and strong convoys to escort the fishing ships returning home and to cruise the coasts during the season. The House of Commons agreed with Clayton and resolved that the memorandum be presented to the Queen by the members of the Privy Council.⁸¹ S. Merret wrote to the Council of Trade and Plantations and spoke of the great financial losses England suffered at the hands of the French privateers. He said that England lost 60 to 80 ships between 1702 and 1705, and the Queen's customs suffered a loss of £96,000 to £100,000. The merchants lost twice as much.⁸²

Difficulties with the Indians was another frequent topic of discussion in official English governmental circles. To preserve amicable relations with the Indians, the English government was forced to provide suitable commodities with which to gain Indian support. A glance at the "suitable commodities" is rather interesting. On

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 549, June 29, 1704.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 356-357.

⁸¹ Leo Francis Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America*, Washington, D. C., 1930, III, 113-114.

⁸² *Colonial Calendar*, 1704-1705, 361, January 17, 1705.

February 22, 1705, the Privy Council wrote to the Treasury regarding presents for the Indians. The presents consisted of light guns, powder, kettles, hatchets, blankets and other coarse clothing.⁸³ Other officials stressed the necessity of keeping the Indians tied to English dependency lest they should join with the French. The Indians presented quite a problem during the entire span of 1702 to 1713.

Still another vital subject was the act for encouraging the trade to Newfoundland. Copies of the act, passed in previous years, were circulated in an attempt to correct flagrant abuses and obstacles which arose in the Newfoundland trade. Uncontrolled trading by inhabitants, incomplete records kept by fishing admirals, insufficient fortification of harbors, contraband trade with American colonials, illegal cutting of timber, and the failure to train a specified number of "green" seamen were persistent abuses with which the English government had to contend. The English merchants were in complete agreement with the government's decision to enforce the act to enforce the act. Recommendations to correct existent abuses were easy enough to make but comparatively difficult to execute. For example, later reports submitted during 1706 referred to the illegal trade and the private trading carried on by Prize officers settled in the Newfoundland area. Inability to control the fishing industry resulted in extensive losses for the English merchants who sent a stream of complaints to the Council of Trade and Plantations demanding additional men of war for convoy and stricter adherence to regulations. Some merchants complained that the convoys arrived too late to be of any use to the fishing fleets and, in some instances, delayed the fishing operations. Complaints to that effect came from Clifton Darmouth Hardness on January 25, 1706.⁸⁴ The demands for more and earlier convoys brought some results.

One of the most recurring abuses condemned by English merchants concerned the private trading carried on by the officers stationed in the harbors of Newfoundland and surrounding territory. The merchants considered this private trading detrimental to their own profits. The Privy Council represented that the Prize officer should also be prohibited from trading, for the same reasons as other officers. Previous attempts to bar the Prize officers from trading brought numerous protests from them and, in some instances, from the Commissioners of Prizes themselves. One such petition

⁸³ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1680-1720*, 485.

⁸⁴ *Stock, Proceedings and Debates*, III, 128.

laid before the Lord High Treasurer upon the request of the Prize officer stationed at Newfoundland, claimed that if these officers were debarred from trading, they could not procure a person of reputation to go to Newfoundland for the amount presently allotted to foreign agents.⁸⁵ A week later the Commissioners of Prizes sent another letter to the Lord High Treasurer suggesting an increased allowance for the Prize officer to compensate for the inability to carry on private trade. The Prize officer was to receive £100 a year, but the previous allowance of five per cent upon the whole value of confiscated prizes was lowered to three.⁸⁶ It is important to note that apparently the English ships inflicted sufficient damage on French fishing to warrant a stationed Prize officer. It also indicated a desire on the part of the Crown to maintain a check upon the state of trade in this region. Vigilance was also kept upon the fishing admirals who either had charge of the fishing fleets or the convoys. The records kept by these individuals were of inestimable value in keeping a watchful eye over the fisheries and general trade conditions.

While the merchants were thankful for the efforts to protect their fishing and trade in North America, they still considered the attempts to do so too feeble to check successfully the dwindling of commerce. Convoys sent the previous year, 1706, were considered inadequate. A report dated February 5, 1707, sent by the Privy Council to the Admiralty, directed the securing of additional convoys for the next fishing season to offset the losses of the preceding year. Pressure put upon the Privy Council by merchants of London and Western ports, precipitated the above directive, which resulted in the assignment of six war ships to convoy the fishing fleets to Newfoundland, home and foreign markets.⁸⁷ Several other convoys were ultimately designated for the Newfoundland area during 1707. Careful checking of these convoys would have entailed a great deal of time but would have yielded comparatively little to the general scheme of Anglo-French commercial warfare.

During 1708, the English were too busy regaining losses in Spain to pay much attention to colonial issues. Certain government officials believed the West Indies were of more commercial importance than Canada. Lack of material assistance did not preclude lack of genuine interest in North American affairs. On the contrary, considerable

⁸⁵ *Treasury Calendar*, 1702-1707, 369, August 14, 1705.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 370, August 21, 1705.

⁸⁷ *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1680-1720, 514.

effort was made to encourage the American colonials to handle the situation themselves. Sanction of privateering against French commerce typified the above attitude. For example, the Admiralty was confronted with a petition sent by the owners of the ship *Grand Canary*, who demanded the prizes taken by their ship. Since the *Grand Canary* held no official commission, the Prize officers disputed the right of the owners to the proceeds. Judge of the Admiralty, Sir C. Hedges, gave his opinion on May 10, 1708, and granted the owners the right to retain their prizes with the exception of the Admiral's tenths and other charges. Hedges stated:

I am humbly of Opinion the Service was so well undertaken and performed that the petitioners may reasonably hope Your Royal Highness will give so favourable an Ear to their request as may not only compensate their Charge and hazard but also be such a reward for their zeal in this service as may be an encouragement for the like attempts upon the Enemy for the future.⁸⁸

There is little need to explain that while illegal privateering was condemned, privateering benefiting the colonials and the mother country was condoned and rewarded. Further evidence of the mother country's solicitude was the more stringent application of the act to encourage trade to Newfoundland. Perhaps the occasion for stricter enforcement was the series of accusations levelled against Crown officials and officers. One of the abuses consisted in the importation of wine, brandy, salt, oil, and French linens into Newfoundland by ships carrying salt from Portugal. These goods were in turn sold to New England traders in exchange for tobacco, sugar and other enumerated goods, destined in most instances for Portugal and several foreign markets. This trade should be prevented, officials insisted. One answer lay in the appointment of a reliable customs officer.⁸⁹ The problem of illegal trade continued to rear its ugly head. Was the mother country able to curb this trade? The more persistent efforts to prevent it only tended to emphasize the inability of the Crown to control some aspects of colonial trade.

The Queen's willingness to grant convoy protection increased mercantile activity. Early in 1709, Burchett wrote many letters to various merchants and port officials demanding listing of ships destined for Newfoundland. Burchett's letters brought immediate response. The mayors of Bristol, Poole, Exeter, Barnstable and Plymouth, among others, sent in their requests for convoys. Bristol

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 542.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 599, May 20, 1708.

wanted six men of war, Poole five, Barnstable six and Exeter also six.⁹⁰

Even the convoys sent failed to prevent a certain amount of damage from being inflicted by the French. Some of the merchants demanded compensation for their losses. For example, Campbell wrote to the Council of Trade and Plantations on May 27, 1709, with reference to a loss of £300,000, of which he had the misfortune to be a large sharer.⁹¹ On June 2, Campbell asked the Queen to compensate him for a loss amounting to £9,000. The amount included payment for intelligence services rendered to the Crown.⁹² If Campbell alone lost less than £9,000, who lost the remainder?

Again in 1710, preparations were begun early in the year to provide ample protection for the fishing season. Requests for convoy were sent out and the ports in turn submitted their estimates. The convoys granted were ordered to escort the ships going to Newfoundland and then to protect the harbors of St. John, Ferryland and Trinity. When the fishing season was over, the merchants again complained that the convoy was insufficient and arrived too late, permitting the French to glut European markets. The Admiralty office retorted that the convoys afforded sufficient protection and challenged the statement of late arrival of the men of war.⁹³

The English merchants further asserted that the decay of trade to and fishery in Newfoundland and the surrounding area resulted in the decrease of trained seamen. The Crown's answer to the above was stricter regulation of the naval personnel making the journey. Custom House officers were instructed to insist that one out of every five members of the ships' crews were to be "green" seamen. The ports complied with these instructions.⁹⁴

During 1709, France approached England to begin peace negotiations. England demanded the restoration of all conquests made in North America, including Newfoundland which the French invaded in 1708. Early in the negotiations, the Duke of Marlborough and Charles Viscount Townshend insisted upon the restitution of Newfoundland but agreed that refusal to comply should not hinder peace.⁹⁵ England's demands had a good chance for acceptance, since

⁹⁰ *Journal of the Commissioners For Trade and Plantations*, from February 1709 to March 1715, 120-122.

⁹¹ *Colonial Calendar*, 1708-1709, 321.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 340.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1710-1711, 77, April 19, 1710, Burchett to Popple.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁹⁵ Judah, *North American Fisheries*, 170.

in 1709 France was in no position to argue. The Queen instructed Marlborough on May 2, 1709, that the English valued Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay very highly and would not consent to a peace unless the aforesaid countries were to be restored.⁹⁶ Pressure was also exerted by the mercantile element. Petitions from all sections of the country, as especially Bristol and Biddiford, reached the government. The French hesitated to commit themselves but eventually ceded Newfoundland to the English. However, the peace negotiations were disrupted for other reasons and not renewed until 1711.

While the peace conferences were carried on, French merchants and privateers continued to annoy the English fishing fleets. Numerous complaints concerning violations of the fishing laws were brought to the surface, once more necessitating further control over fishing and trading operations in Newfoundland. Following the representation of the Council of Trade and Plantations, the Queen issued instructions dated April 17, 1711, to Captain Josiah Crowe, commander-in-chief of the Newfoundland convoy. Crowe was authorized to redress and punish all offenses committed contrary to the act to encourage trade to Newfoundland in customary or lawful manner. In case of flagrant abuses, Crowe was to transmit such information to the principal secretaries of state so that offenders could be punished in England.⁹⁷

The Crown's precautions to safeguard trade and fishery were only moderately successful. In a report to the Council of Trade and Plantations, October 21, 1712, Archibald Cumings indicated considerable illegal traffic between the inhabitants in St. John's, Newfoundland, with ships from Portugal carrying brandy, bacon, linens, canvas and other products of that country. Moreover, merchandise from Holland also managed to infiltrate into Newfoundland. It was further noted that ships flying Spanish colors engaged in trade in St. John's harbor.⁹⁸

Ultimately, military preparations, financial issues, and the question of trade and commerce became subservient to the major problem confronting the Crown—the renewed peace negotiations. French ascendancy in 1711 gave them much better bargaining advantages at the conference table, while at the same time it increased the difficult task facing the English plenipotentiaries. In itself, the

⁹⁶ Brown, *Letters of Queen Anne*, 276.

⁹⁷ *Colonial Calendar*, 1710-1711, 465.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1712-1714, 73.

question of the fisheries did not warrant the persistent demand for English control over Newfoundland. However, the importance of the fisheries coupled with Newfoundland's key position in relation to the St. Lawrence, left no doubt as to the purpose behind English demands. France and England were rivals for the North American empire.

From the very beginning, the conference met with numerous difficulties. The question of French fishing privileges fomented much aggravation for the English, who insisted upon additional concessions. The formal peace conferences began in January of 1712 at Utrecht, with both nations claiming what they termed just rights and privileges. The main disputes for settlement centered around Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Hudson's Bay. After a series of proposals and counter offers, a treaty of peace was signed at Utrecht, April 11, 1713. The outcome of the treaty was very favorable for the English despite the fact that the French held more advantages in North America. A discussion of the most pertinent articles concluded at Utrecht would prove beneficial.

Article X stipulated that the Bay and Streights of Hudson, together with all buildings, forts, cannon and ample cannon-ball, plus quantities of power, held by the French in this region, were to be surrendered to England. French subjects were to be free to leave this area with their possessions, excluding articles of war. This article also provided for a group of Commissioners to determine the limits of English and French possessions.⁹⁹ Article XI provided compensation for English losses in Hudson's Bay due to spoilage perpetrated upon English ships, persons and goods in time of peace. The sum of these losses was to be set by the Commissioners. Under Article XII, France ceded St. Christophers, Nova Scotia—with its ancient boundaries—together with the city of Port Royal. The French were forbidden to fish on the coasts of Nova Scotia. Article XIII granted all of Newfoundland and adjacent islands to England. The French were forbidden to fortify any section of Newfoundland where they had the right to fish, nor to erect any permanent buildings, outside fishing stages and huts. The treaty designated the specific areas where the French were permitted to catch and dry fish. However, Cape Breton and other islands situated in the mouth of the St. Lawrence river and gulf remained in French possession. Article

⁹⁹ Thomas Brodrick, *A Compleat History of the Late War in the Netherlands, Together with an Abstract of the Treaty of Utrecht*, London, 1713, 441-443, for these articles.

XIV granted French subjects the liberty to move to any other area within a year. Those who preferred to remain under English control, would be given free exercise of religion. Article XV prohibited the French subjects from inciting the Indians under English domination.

In like manner, the Subjects of *Great Britain*, shall behave themselves Peaceably towards the *Americans*, who are Subjects or Friends to *France*, and on both Sides, they shall enjoy full Liberty of going and coming on Account of Trade. As also the natives of those Countries shall, with the same Liberty, Resort, as they please, to the *British* and *French* Colonies, for Promoting Trade on one Side, and the other, without any Molestation or Hindrance, either on the Part of the *British* Subjects or of the *French*. But it is to be Exactly and Distinctly settled by the Commissaries, who are, and who ought to be accounted the Subjects and Friends of *Britain* or of *France*.¹⁰⁰

The treaty of peace terminated the war but Anglo-French commercial conflict continued. No sooner was the Treaty of Utrecht signed, when new reports arrived in England concerning French violations of the treaty. France never fully regained her commercial and naval supremacy in North America. Moreover, the conflicts over trade continued and eventually culminated in the loss of Canada for France. The land of fish, forests and furs remained a bone of contention between England and France.

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¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 444.

Missionary Life in Colorado

1874

The severance of New Mexico from old Mexico after the Mexican War posed problems of episcopal jurisdiction and clerical manpower in the vast area newly acquired by the United States. New Mexico had been under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Bishop of Durango for two centuries, but in 1851 it was made an Apostolic Vicariate and in 1853 was erected into the Diocese of Santa Fe, with John Baptist Lamy as its first bishop. While the manpower for the organized parishes was low, there were no priests for the thinly populated areas inhabited by Mexicans and Indians. To obtain missionaries Bishop Lamy ultimately in 1866 paid a personal visit to the General of the Jesuits in Rome. There he found that the Jesuits of the Neapolitan Province of the Society of Jesus had been exiled by Garibaldi and were seeking a mission field. Of these expatriated fathers Donato Gasparri and Rafael Bianchi and two lay brothers were sent to establish the New Mexico mission among the Navajo in 1867.

Within a year of their arrival Father Joseph P. Machebeuf was given jurisdiction as Vicar Apostolic of the area north of New Mexico, the Territory of Colorado and Utah. William Gilpin, Colorado's first territorial governor, had made several overtures to the Jesuits, seeking to obtain some of the fathers to care for the Mexican people on his holdings in the San Luis Valley. Father Machebeuf now added his appeals. As a result of these earnest requests Father Gasparri consented to staff the missions of Conejos, Colorado. There the parish of Our Lady of Guadalupe had been established by Lamy on June 10, 1857, and has the distinction of being the first parish in Colorado. On December 9, 1871, the Jesuit Father Salvador Persone and Brother Cherubin Anzalone took charge of the parish. Its boundaries at the time were noticeably extensive. From Conejos they were 115 miles north as far as Saguche and San Luis, south six miles to Los Pinos, east about twenty-five miles to Los Sauces, and west seven miles to Los Mesitas. Considering the terrain, travel would be arduous for the missionaries.

Three years later new recruits for the mission arrived and among them Father Rafael Baldassarre, author of the letter on missionary

life which we are here presenting in translation from the Italian. This Neapolitan Jesuit noted that his arrival brought to four the number of priests assigned to care for the parish and its mission stations, in reality the entire San Luis Valley. He had been Superior of the Seminary at Anagni before his assignments to Colorado. It seems that he spent some time at Poyanne studying Spanish before departing for America. After two years at Conejos he was appointed Superior of the entire New Mexico Mission on June 23, 1876, and held this post until September 12, 1880. In 1881 he was appointed master of novices for the short lived novitiate at Albuquerque. His companion on the voyage to America, Father Colledivita succeeded him in this office the next year and filled the position during the second and last year of the novitiate. Father Baldassarre worked in the parish at Albuquerque during 1882. During 1883 and 1884 we find him at La Junta, New Mexico. He was superior of the community and pastor of San Felipe, Old Albuquerque, during 1885, but resigned due to ill health and returned to Italy where he died March 9, 1886, at the age of fifty-six, thirty-six years of which he had spent as a member of the Society of Jesus.

In 1868 the Society of Jesus was expelled from Spain and the Province of Castile acquired the Chateau of Poyanne in the sparsely settled district of Landes in Southwestern France, where they stayed until the 1880 laws of France made it necessary to close the establishment. As a means of keeping interest and contact during their exile the Spanish Jesuits published the *Cartas de Poyanne* during the years 1878 and 1879. Eleven numbers were printed. Most of the space was devoted to news from the peninsula and from South and Central America. Several letters from the United States were published because of the personal interest in the authors. The following letter appears in the *Cartas de Poyanne*, numero tercero, (1879), 112-115. It is especially interesting because it reveals the bewilderment and frustration of the Italian when faced with the snow and "interminable plains" of Colorado and the difficulty of mastering two new languages. The Jesuits were to become very successful in the San Luis Valley and maintained the parishes until after the dissolution of the Mission in 1919.

E. R. VOLLMAR

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DOCUMENT

New Mexico Mission, Conejos [Colorado] Residence. Letter of Father Rafael Baldasarre to the Father Superior of Poyanne, November 12, 1874.

REVEREND DEAR FATHER IN CHRIST: Lest your reverence and all those good Fathers should think that Father Baldasarre has forgotten the charity and kindness with which he was received and treated at Poyanne, I am going to give you a little information that I have accumulated since my arrival on this mission.

On the twenty-third of May I set out from the Port of Brest with my companions Father Colledévita and Ravel. The sea journey was very pleasant and did not last more than eleven days. True, during the first days the sea was somewhat rough, but during the last part of the journey it quieted down enough so that we were able to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass on Pentecost Sunday and the Feast of the Most Blessed Trinity. We debarked at New York on June fourth, rested there a few days, and on the ninth we moved to Woodstock [Maryland], where, after a few days we had the pleasure of attending a brilliant Grand Act of the whole of Theology, given by a Father of the Missouri Province. We stayed about a month and a half at this college awaiting the arrival of Father Gasparri, Superior of the Mission,¹ with whom on the twentieth of July, we, Father Ravel and I, began our journey to New Mexico, but Father Colledévita remained as Tertian Master in the Maryland Province. We arrived the fourth of August at Puebló in the territory of Colorado and on the following day Fathers Gasparri and Ravel left there for Junta in New Mexico, and I, with Father Salvador Personé, Superior of this Residence,² who had come to meet me, started for our house here, where we arrived without further ado on the morning of the ninth.

Conejos is a parish of some three or four thousand souls scattered about a vast plain, where one does not find a city, or even some villages, but small groups of houses scattered here and there, which form what is called here "Plazas." Because of this it is necessary for the parish missionary to travel on horseback, or by

¹ For a brief biographical sketch of Father Gasparri, cf. E. R. Vollmar, "Donato Gasparri, New Mexico-Colorado Mission Founder," *MID-AMERICA*, 9, (April 1938), 96-102.

² Father Salvador Personé was to become one of the founders of Las Vegas College, and first President of Sacred Heart College, now Regis College, Denver.

carriage, thirty, fifty or more miles in order to administer the Sacraments. While it is true there are four Fathers here, nevertheless we must visit more than twenty-five "Plazas." To visit those nearby it is not very difficult. One sets out after dining, and having arrived at the Plaza, informs the people and begins to hear confessions until ten or eleven o'clock at night. The following day you set up an altar in the least untidy house, say Mass, and after visiting some of the homes and straightening out the muddled affairs that come up, the missionary returns to his little cell. However, it is not so easy to visit the distant "Plazas." Frequently it is necessary to travel many days without encountering either homes or villages, and in order to get some rest at night and allow the fatigued saddle-horse some rest, the missionary has no shelter but the sky for a roof, and for a bed the bare ground. Yet to be able to pass the night in this manner during good weather is delightful, but it is a different thing during the winter. The snow, which falls abundantly in this region, covers completely the interminable plains and obliterates all trace of the road, and nothing is easier than to get lost. At night there is left to the traveller no other recourse than to kindle, God knows how, a little fire with which to melt the snow, and in this small space of dry earth place a buffalo robe and stretch out on it. It is even worse when a hurricane wind drifts the snow, reduced to powder. It is enough to cause one to lose his mind.

Such is a resumé of our life, which, however is very consoling, because the Lord who has called us to it does not fail to give us abundant consolation, so it is that we are as content as in any other place. The Mexican people, who are established here, have kept the Catholic faith, but they are uncouth and very ignorant. Surrounded by savage Indians, and in continual contact with them, they share a few of their customs, though not ceasing to be simple and God fearing. The Americans of the United States are the ones who do the most harm in this country. Daily they come in great numbers to work the mines which are found not very far from here, and with the mania of becoming rich they cause a corruption of morals, and indifference in matters of faith. However, in spite of these people, they still keep many of the Christian customs of the good and old Spanish, and the missionary experiences true consolation, but next comes the thought that after a few years the American element will have absorbed the Mexican and one's heart can only be torn with anguish. There are those who work and suffer much to preserve this country from such ruin, but who knows if they will be able to suc-

ceed? Oh, if we could at least strengthen this settlement in its ancient faith!

Our mission now has four parishes: two in New Mexico and two in Colorado. There is talk of giving us more, one it seems that is not very far away. This is the large parish of Trinidad,³ likewise in Colorado, a point of sufficient importance, especially because of the railroad, which according to rumor, will reach there next spring. In Las Vegas, a town in New Mexico, a small college has already been opened.⁴ This year there will be only one little class, but with the reinforcement of Fathers who will come from the United States we hope to begin regular classes next term. Meanwhile, the press which we had in Albuquerque has been transferred there, and perhaps we shall begin printing a Catholic newspaper.⁵ Much good has been done both in the salvation of souls and in daily life, but much more could be accomplished if all our Fathers of the Mission knew English. Your Reverence cannot realize how this language becomes more necessary each day. Because of the lack of it the school of this parish is not under our care; the same happens also in other localities. The Americans are settling in the principal centers of the parishes. There are some Catholics among them, especially the Irish, whom we ought to help with our ministry. Pray, then, that the Lord will send priests here who speak English, and that he may arouse the minds of us poor old men so that we will be able to understand some of this language, if only enough to hear confessions. I conclude because I have run out of news, and ask your Reverence to please excuse me for not having written in Spanish. What shall say? The few months that I have been here I have been continually occupied in writing letters, and supervising some of the work that has been done on this house. Thus it is that I have not sufficiently grasped the language to write or preach, but I am far enough along to be able to follow a conversation and to hear confessions. Some other time I shall write you a letter in purest Spanish, and it will be much more interesting than the present.

³ The records of Holy Trinity Church, Trinidad, begin with June 24, 1866. The Jesuits were given charge of the parish in 1875 when Father Carlos Pinto became pastor, and still serve the parish and many mission stations in the surrounding territory.

⁴ Father Baldasarre is a little premature here. Las Vegas College did not open until 1877. In 1888 it was closed and combined with Sacred Heart College, Morrison, Colorado, to form Sacred Heart College, Denver.

⁵ The First issue of the *Revista Catolica* appeared in 1875. Since that time the Revista Press has continued to issue a weekly Catholic paper in Spanish in addition to publishing many items of value to the Catholic devotion of the Southwest.

Meanwhile, I ask your Reverence to say hello for me to all the Fathers and Brothers of that edifying community. Especially to Father Minister, Father Gómez, Father Portes, Father Moga, to the Canons of the Cathedral, to Fathers Musto and Barlettin, if they are still there, in fact to all the Fathers, *nemine excepto*. I send greetings also to Brothers Rossi and Gallo and the Neapolitan novices with all their companions. Tell them, Your Reverence, to pray much for me, and for this mission, and to learn well the Spanish language now, so that later they will not lack opportunity to learn English.

Fathers Personé, Fede and Mafei send greetings to all their friends and recommend themselves to the prayers of all. Finally, I commend myself earnestly in your holy sacrifices in union with which I am with due respect Your Reverence's servant in Christ.

Book Reviews

Divided We Fought. Edited by David Donald. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1953. Pp. 452. Illustrated. \$10.00.

Possibly you may not realize that "the Civil War is the best photographed war in history, surpassing even World Wars I and II." This assertion, taken from the dust jacket of this imposing collection of war photographs, becomes an acceptable statement to the reader as he inspects the approximately five-hundred photographs included. Some drawings are also presented.

The book being reviewed looks back toward the *Photographic History of the Civil War*, published in ten volumes in 1911, as its ancestor. That set, long out of print, contained reproductions of 3,800 photographs. In selecting some 500 pictures for the present volume the editorial staff concerned, Messrs. David Donald, Hirst Milhollen, Milton Kaplan, and Hulen Stuart studied and used the collections of Brady, Gardner, O'Sullivan, Cooley and Cook, and also drew upon so many private collections that two pages of *Acknowledgements* are required merely to list the names of the donors concerned.

Brady's photographs necessarily and properly constitute the main source of supply. Brady and his assistants photographed the war from every imaginable angle. Despite the great advances that have been made in technical equipment, no present day photographer can produce photographs superior to those left us by Brady.

David Donald prepared the text for the fourteen chapters in the book. Although the editor does not classify the volume as a history of the Civil War, a chronological order is followed. To say that one understands the war better after having looked at the photographs and after having read the graphic accompanying text is definitely an understatement. A picture may or may not be worth a thousand words, even though an old Chinese proverb maintains that such is the case, but a combination of five-hundred photographs and drawings, plus an excellent text, combine to make the book an outstanding contribution to the history of the Civil War.

PAUL KINIERY

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The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921.

By John Tracy Ellis. Bruce, Milwaukee, 1952. Volume I, pp. xx, 707; Volume II, pp. x, 735. \$17.50.

This work demands recognition. Out of its pages rises a picture of Gibbons as true as it is rich and deep. The frontispiece, a brilliant reproduction of Keller's full-length portrait, sets the tone for what follows, a first-

rate account of a subject who assuredly exerted so broad and consistent a force in shaping the moral thought of our people.

James Cardinal Gibbons, born in Baltimore, spent some sixteen years in the ancestral atmosphere of County Mayo before he returned with his family to America in 1853 and settled in New Orleans. He worked as a grocery clerk for two years and then matriculated at St. Charles College, Ellicott City, Maryland. After a biennium spent in winning his bachelor's degree he went on to St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore. Archbishop Kenrick ordained him priest on June 30, 1861. In the same cathedral Archbishop Spalding, on August 16, 1868, consecrated him Bishop of Adramyttum and Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina. From 1872 to 1877 he occupied the episcopal see of Richmond, and on May 15, 1877, he was preconized coadjutor of Baltimore with right of succession. Succession came with the death of Bayley on October 3 of that year. In 1886 he received the red hat of a prince of the Church. For forty-four years he stood at the front of the American hierarchy until his death in 1921.

To undertake a definite biography of this great churchman and outstanding patriot demanded unusual courage and historical talent. It had been attempted earlier by a fine Protestant journalist, Allen Sinclair Will. Will's biography, with much direct help from his subject and the Baltimore archives, appeared just a few months after the death of the cardinal. He possessed a capable pen, and his two volumes developed classic sketches of many notable details in the narrative. His accounts of the Knights of Labor problem, the Cahensley Movement, and the School Question involved in the Faribault Plan laid the basis for later monographs on these matters. Yet he lacked the training of a historian for full exploitation of his resources, and he needed the point of view of one writing the story from the inside, that of the priest and the living professor of church history.

Father Ellis has these qualifications. His biography of another famous cardinal, Consalvi, brought him forward toward the present task. His *Formative Years of the Catholic University of America* put him in close touch with Gibbons on a vital issue. Finally, after six years of intensive study and careful composition, his master work is at hand.

Ellis decided to change from the organization of Will and draw the picture of the bishop first. His later chapters expand the study of the man. Working on this plan he was able to produce the Gibbons of history, in continuous contact with the public problems of American society where the cardinal played so significant a role. Thus had Gibbons conceived his duty, and he never swerved from its pursuit. The historian must follow that lead.

So large a place did Gibbons occupy that ten times two volumes would be needed for the fuller title of "life and times," had the author so chosen. There is, here, no effort to diverge into separate histories of the movements that felt the hand of the little man of Baltimore. Appropriate reference citations are suggested for the scholar or the general reader in regard to war times, the labor movement, immigration, the language troubles of hyphenates, the school plan of Archbishop Ireland, secret societies, and the peculiar event that goes by the name of "Americanism." As for the prelate, Gibbons really lives in the book, charming in his frank simplicity of character, powerful in his constancy and fortitude, strong yet always kind, never lordly.

So pleasant is the reading of these chapters that the obvious might be overlooked. Ellis writes a smooth line, a rounded paragraph, an organized chapter. The logical sequence of treatment holds attention without faltering through all the major questions in which Gibbons had a part. Toward the end the reading is more leisurely. These matters—the international cardinal, the citizen, the shepherd of the flock—lack the dynamic sweep of the climactic deeds in that unique career, and they are wisely reserved to the summary sections.

The writing calls for careful navigation between rival forces that might well veer into partisanism. Father Ellis shows as much objectivity as can be asked. Naturally he writes from the position where he resides, for his university, as one of the high points in this narrative, is stressed. Not at all belligerent, he yet takes a positive attitude when touching the various parties and situations met by the cardinal. A caviling critic might call for longer explanation of the reverse side of some scenes and settings. This, however, would complicate the presentation and lengthen it unduly. Two small points appear to be left unfinished: the promised explanation for O'Connell leaving the rectorship of the American College in Rome, and the connection between "Americanism" and Keane's change from the rectorship of the Catholic University. These are trifling oversights in so thorough and complete a job. The inner stories of Dwenger, McQuaid, Corrigan, Fulton, and the tepestuous Ireland, call for treatment by other historians. For Gibbons none will need to look elsewhere.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

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The Sailer's Snug Harbor: Studies in Brownson's Thought. By Thomas R. Ryan, C.P.P.S., Newman Book Shop, Westminster, Maryland, 1952.

This work contains essays on various phases of life and thought of Orestes A. Brownson. Most of them were published previously in Catholic journals. Together they give the reader a fair cross-section of the thought of a man whose collected writings fill twenty large volumes. There is therefore no exhaustive exposition of any aspect of his thought.

The re-publication of these essays was motivated by a desire to arouse interest in Brownson and his work and to present a survey of his general thought as a key to those who, although interested, fail to understand him. This class includes some of his biographers, writers of doctoral dissertations and articles about him as well as historians of philosophy who still identify him with the Ontologists condemned by the Catholic Church. Anyone with even an elementary understanding of Brownson knows that he condemned and refuted the very error of which he is accused. His condemnation of Ontologism preceded that of Rome by more than a decade. Those familiar with Brownson will welcome a work written by one who has had the patience to read and to understand Brownson before writing about him and his work.

Whether or not this work will arouse interest in Brownson is debatable. Father Ryan presents Brownson's views on problems which should interest political scientists, historians, philosophers, and theologians. Both the problems and Brownson's analysis of them are as real and vital today as they were to the subscribers of his *Review* a century ago. Political scientists and historians, for example, will be interested in the view that American institutions are radically different from any which have existed anywhere in the world; they are unlike, opposed to and different from those of England, not modelled after them; that the ideas ordinarily labelled democratic today are really communistic, lead inevitably to communism and therefore toward the destruction of everything radically and distinctively American, including liberty; that both Webster and Calhoun were wrong in their respective interpretations of our constitution; that the written document referred to as the constitution is not the real constitution of the nation; that there is a union between church and state in America more perfect than any which has ever existed. Philosophers and theologians will be interested in Brownson's technique in Apologetics, his interpretation of the doctrine "No Salvation outside of the Catholic Church," and his explanation of *Ens Creat Existentias*.

While Father Ryan presents Brownson's position accurately on problems both interesting and important, it is extremely unfortunate that his book is not long enough to include evidence sufficient to convince his readers that Brownson's arguments for his position are conclusive. If they read Father Ryan's foreword they will understand that they must consult Brownson's own works for additional evidence for his position. Brownson's attitude on these and other problems is so vastly different from that which is commonly accepted that many who encounter his position are inclined to dismiss it with the verdict that it cannot possibly be true; his conclusions contradict many of our most cherished ideas. We hope that Father Ryan will write a longer book emphasizing the reasoning which led Brownson to his conclusions.

LAWRENCE ROEMER

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Notes and Comments

Historians of Latin America enjoy a privilege rare to the fraternity, in that the field provides broad opportunities for the discovery of ideas and movements both important in themselves and long hidden from a Clio too bent on Nordic contemplation. An instance is the theme running through their basic research during the past decade, the search for justice in establishing the domain of Spain in America. A minor note in these studies brings out the fact that the mother country had in the western world not colonies but a realm made one with the homeland according to the imperial view of the Romans. Solid studies such as those to which Earl Hamilton paved the way, show the building of cultural, political, economic institutions based on the pattern of life in the Iberian peninsula. His figures on trans-Atlantic trade during the sixteenth century demanded a complete revision of previous notions on the statesmanship of the Habsburgs.

Topping this lesser idea by many degrees is the finding that in Spain itself there occurred the most striking development in that entire process, the rise of a solid jurisprudence and of a sound concept of international law. The edifice came into being as a result of the epochal controversy on the right of Spanish dominion over the lands overseas. In both Americas, in Europe and the distant Philippine universities, notable results have come from this investigation.

A work published last year by the Ediciones Cultura Hispanica in Madrid strikes the central point in the discussion and uncovers its focal fact. This is *La Gran Controversia del Siglo XVI Acerca del Dominio Español en America*, by Sister M. Monica, Ph. D. The source of the entire controversy is put in the two Bulls of Alexander VI, *Inter Coetera* and *Eximiae Devotionis*. From these documents of 1493 to the Junta de Madrid in 1568 there runs a story not alone of theory in Vitoria, Las Casas, and Sepúlveda, but of diplomacy and of practical government. And it was Francisco de Toledo, great viceroy of Peru, who led the author into the archives of public and private libraries on three continents during a search of some twenty years. The conclusion seems fully demonstrated that the joint work of Toledo and Philip II brought about the final synthesis that marks the laws of the Indies.

It will be recalled that Columbus, on the return from his first voyage, slipped through Lisbon and reported quickly to his sovereign at Barcelona. Quickly Isabella hurried an envoy to Rome, there to win a clinching title to the discoveries before any counter-stroke of Portugal. The first Bull authorized steps for converting the American natives to Christianity, since on this ground alone did the Pope found his grant. The second provided for the sustenance of that enterprise. It approved a levy on the evangelized, and it empowered the European to create in America a civilization proper to the evangelizing people.

With the legistic, Roman, imperial mind, these basic grants demanded extensive ecclesiastical provision, to guide Spanish executive administration. The story of this provision forms the body of the book, and revolves about the idea of a Patriarch of the Indies. The Pope wanted a Nuncio in Madrid to oversee the processes of conversion. The King, and his Toledo, sought the appointment of a quasi-pope under Spain civil law. Neither got what he desired, in what writers have called the Caesarpapalism of Spain. Instead, the patronato power that had been dormant since Isabella's first success, was resurrected in 1568 and continued for more than two centuries afterward.

The study rests almost entirely on first-hand materials, and they are copiously cited in the extensive footnotes. As to the format and printing, a word must be said for the author. Sister Monica is an intrepid soul, as her friends and helpers know. Yet with all her driving personality and meticulous workmanship, she had to yield to forces beyond her control and return from Spain before the book was printed. Its final form depends on generous patrons, and somewhat on typographers and proof-readers whose acquaintance with English led them to call her "Silxter Monica" at the end of her prologue. Various other variations from proper form jut out here and there to mar somewhat, yet never to vitiate the text and notes for a knowing scholar. The workmanship, and the thesis, are the product of mature abilities.

W. E. SHIELS

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A Catalogue of the William B. Greenlee Collection of Portuguese History and Literature and the Portuguese materials in The Newberry Library, compiled by Doris Varner Welsh, was published early this year by The Newberry Library, Chicago. Even while the

Catalogue was being distributed, Mr. Greenlee was stricken by a heart attack which brought an end to his illustrative career on March 1.

William Brooks Greenlee while gaining prestige as an industrialist had from his college days enjoyed his bent toward research in history, but only after leaving the majority of the claims of his business did he devote himself more and more to scholarly pursuits. In his studies of the vast field of trade and navigation he always kept the inspiration of Morse Stephens and the deep impression of the importance of the contribution of Portugal to modern empire developments. Centering his attention upon the Iberian peoples, he equipped himself with the necessary linguistic tools. He gathered all available materials on navigation and particularly on Cabral. After his meticulous checking of documents the Hakluyt Society published his *Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India*, in 1938, and this was translated into Portuguese by António Álvaro Dória as *A Viagem de Padro Álvares Cabral ao Brasil e á India* and published in 1952 by the Livraria Civilização at Porto.

Meanwhile, Mr. Greenlee wrote articles, of which some remain in manuscript, and collected shelves of books on the political, social, economic, cultural and religious life of Portugal. The total of his judicious gathering over a period of fifty years came to rest in an attractive section adjacent to the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, where almost daily its genial and dignified donor could have been seen at his scholarly pursuits. The present *Catalogue* is a carefully edited compilation of the finest collection of works on Portugal in the United States. The many honors conferred upon Mr. Greenlee were but logical concomitants of his labors to present to generations of grateful scholars this monumental collection.

* * * *

Among the letters commenting upon the article in memory of Herbert E. Bolton, which appeared in the April MID-AMERICA, is one from Guy Stanton Ford, who says: "I have just read with pleasure your appreciation of Herbert E. Bolton. In only one point do you, to my knowledge, go astray, as have one or two others. Bolton's degree of B.L. 1895 from the University of Wisconsin was bachelor of literature, not law. I received the same degree in the same year. We were also in the same college fraternity and I doubt very much if Bolton ever considered law. He was never active in

any debating society as were most of the boys who went into law. He was slightly older and entered in 1893 with two years advanced standing from one of the normal schools. He never concerned himself much with the affairs of the fraternity or any interests but his studies and Miss Gertrude Jones, both worthy of his absorbed attention."

This comment clarifies two points for the future biographer of Bolton, that is, the elimination of a possible legal bent and coverage of the period prior to 1893 when he attended a normal school. Other tributes have added information about Bolton's career, particularly that of John Walton Caughey in the May, 1953, *Pacific Historical Review*.

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Attention may well be called to a two volume set of books which was printed in 1951 and 1952 under the general title *Illinois in the Second World War*, by the Illinois State Historical Library. Volume I is *Operation Home Front* and Volume II is *The Production Front*. Their total is over a thousand pages, heavy by reason of the glossy paper, used probably of necessity in view of the many illustrations. The editorship is that of J. Monaghan and Harry E. Pratt, Illinois State Historians, the former of whom prefaces the set with a brief history of the origin of The Illinois Division of War Records and Research. The authorship is that of Mary Watters, who was employed in 1947 to bring out this civilian history of the people of Illinois for the Second World War period. Certainly, the choice of this scholar for the difficult task of making a story out of the vast accumulation of materials on the war effort, was a happy one.

The six chapter heads of *Operation Home Front* give little indication of the interest Mary Watters arouses by her terse style and objective handling of a thousand items that were once headlines in the newspapers. The captions are: I. National Defense: Illinois in 1940-1941. II. Illinois Mobilizes: Civilian Defence in Theory and Practice. III. The Soldier in Illinois. IV. The Illinois Soldier Overseas. V. Civilian War Services in Illinois. VI. Education in Wartime. The six chapters in *The Production Front* have to do with the machines and men of Illinois industry from conversion to reconversion, the transportation by rail, road and rivers, the manpower and labor problems, disputes, wage stabilization, the fabulous record of production of the Illinois farmers, and finally but climactic-

ally the government and politics of war times. Especially interesting is "the Battle of Chicago: *Sun* versus *Tribune*," and the defeat of the party machines in postwar politics. This set is veritably an encyclopedia of important facts and a contribution worthy of perusal by readers over the country.

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The second volume of Father René Latourelle's *Étude sur les écrits de Saint Jean de Brébeuf* has been published this year as Number X of the *Studia Collegii Maximi Immaculatae Conceptionis*, Montreal, Canada. The publisher is Les Éditions de L'Immaculée-Conception. The first volume of this set was noted in MID-AMERICA for July, 1952, as an especially useful and pleasing work, comprising as it did a complete list of the writings, printed and unprinted, of Father Brébeuf, along with a critical discussion of their authenticity, editions, and their translations. Mistakes, such as those made in the Thwaites *Jesuit Relations*, are checked by a scrutiny of the originals.

The newest volume of this set concludes the description of the Jesuit missions as narrated by Brébeuf and then presents fifteen original letters of the martyr of the Hurons, which were of a private nature written to his superiors. These divulge the sanctity of the man, his asceticism, and his mysticism. They are the record of his interior life from which he derived the great fortitude for the trying labors of his mission among the savages. In this study of Brébeuf's spiritual life Father Latourelle has presented a striking study, making as he does constantly in the footnotes references to the various mystics whose spiritual thoughts were similar to Brébeuf's. These documents are valuable to historians for incidental data but far more precious as clear expositions of the reasons why learned men, sensitive to the ways of civilization, became outcasts of organized society for the betterment of their all-inclusive "neighbor."

* * * *

The State of Washington is this year celebrating the centennial of the creation of Washington Territory, March 2, 1853. While a number of programs are marking the event, the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* is notably performing its functions as historian. In the April issue it records the various centennial activities and carries articles on the pioneers and their days in the vast Territory. The

core of the magazine is a folio of pictures of people and places in early Washington, beginning with the Church of the Sacred Heart, "built without nails in 1848 at Skoot-loty, near Cataldo, Idaho," and ending with the Yesler-Leary Block, built in the eighties in Seattle. The articles on the territorial government are well done.

* * * *

A Frenchman by the name of L. de Cotton made a journey through Canada and the United States in 1886, and, like many another, could not refrain from writing a book. This was published in Paris in 1889 as *A Travers le Dominion et les Etats-Unis*. A chapter from this on le Cotton's stay in Sault Ste Marie, Michigan, is published in translation with an introduction under the heading "A Frenchman Views Sault Ste Marie," in *Michigan History* for March, 1953. Le Cotton made unusually shrewd observations about the Sault and its surroundings, but he is no wise subscribed to the prophecy that the town would one day outrank Chicago.

* * * *

A Bavarian, Baron Ludwig von Closen, came to America as an aide-de-camp to General Rochambeau in 1780 for the duration of our Revolutionary War. He became quite a student of the American way of life and a stout young battler especially at Yorktown. Gay and affable he met with most of the prominent Americans during the war and the celebrations following it. He wrote a highly entertaining journal of his stay in America before returning to fight with the French armies for thirty years. The second part of this journal is now published in *The William and Mary Quarterly* for April, 1953, with an interesting introduction and footnotes by Evelyn M. Acomb. The shrewd observations of the chatty young baron are well worth reading.

* * * *

"Confederate Immigrants and Evangelical Churches in Brazil," by Blanche Henry Clarke Weaver, appeared in the November, 1952, *Journal of Southern History*. The author of this article traces briefly the reasons for the establishments of the Southern Methodist, Southern Presbyterian and Southern Baptist churches in Brazil from 1836 to 1880, after the three hundred years of Catholicity there. The small Protestant churches and schools, we are informed, were not

designed to proselytize among Catholics nor to christianize Indians, but rather to take care of the spiritual needs of the few Southerners who preferred to live in a country whose religion was held in abhorrence rather than submit to our federal government. Unfortunately, the author did not have time to indicate in this article the unhappy results of the criticisms of the religion of the people lending them shelter by the evangelical ministers from the time of Fletcher and Kidder to the fall of the Empire. These attacks, together with the actions of such United States representatives as Conde Raguet and the divisions of the evangelical churches into Northern and Southern branches and rival masonic lodges, did much to stop Brazilian-American harmony.

* * * *

The Montana Magazine of History, pleasing in its new format, published a number of interesting articles, pictures, etchings, and anecdotes pertaining to the history of Montana in its Spring, 1953, number. These are under the headings "Indian Life," "Range Tales," "Dodson's Death," "Mark Twain's Visit," "Old Whiskey Forts," "Judith Basin Tophand," "Kutenai Calendar Records," "Cordage of the Early Northwest Indians," and "Sky Pilots." The last mentioned, a popularized account of the religious beginnings in the state, is by Bob Fletcher, who describes the advent of Fathers DeSmet and Palladino in 1841 and the arrival of the Protestant ministers in 1867, particularly Bishop D. S. Tuttle and W. W. Orsdell.

* * * *

Only recently it was the custom of anthropologists in the universities of the United States to study the American Indian, his ancestors and relics. Students then widened their curiosity to include middle American races and colors. Now, after the War, or during the present phase of the War, many new areas over the world are opening to anthropologists, ethnologists, and sociologists, not that some have been ignored in the past, but because funds have been made available for programs of research in view of the need in Washington of exact information about the social structure of the peoples with whom we have official and economic dealings. Thus, among others, the Brazilians are suffering a wave of investigations of their racial characteristics.

The most recent of the publications of the United Nations Edu-

cational, Scientific and Cultural Organization dealing with aspects of the race question is *Race and Class in Rural Brazil*, a group of four essays and a general conclusion, edited by Charles Wagley, printed in Amsterdam, copyrighted and distributed by the UNESCO office in Paris. The titles of the chapters indicate the place and type of study: "Race Relations in a Rural Community of the Bahian Recôncavo," by Harry W. Hutchinson; "Race Relations in Minas Valhas, a Community in the Mountain Region of Central Brazil," by Marvin Harris; "Race Relations in the Arid Sertão," by Ben Zimmerman; "Race Relations in an Amazon Community," by Charles Wagley; and in the conclusion, "From Caste to Class in North Brazil."

Some of the conclusions from these studies of the four small groups of people in these widely separated places are: "Where Brazilian society was once formed by castes, it has now become a society of social classes which are themselves undergoing rapid change." The researchers found that formerly there were two castes, and now people are divided into the upper class, the "rich whites," some of whom may have traces of Indian or Negro blood; the middle class who are generally white, though brown, black, and red colors, appear; and the lower class, the greatest percentage with the least income, are the people of colour. There seems to be little of racial discrimination, except where the agitators have told the people that they should be unhappy with their lot and that they are discriminated against by reason of their color.

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Campaign Issues and Popular Mandates in 1864

"The canvass for the Presidential election is opening," wrote Secretary of State William Seward early in 1864. "That election will probably be the first one held in forty years in which slavery will have been held by all parties as unworthy of political defense."¹ It was true that slavery was no longer considered worthy of defense by a large group in both parties, but there were many who did not accept as irrevocable the course which was charted on January 1, 1863. Slavery may have been dead, in the opinion of many, but it was certainly not interred. There were still some who looked upon emancipation as a tragic error and the main course for the prolongation of the war. Slavery, therefore, was still discussed in the election canvass, and it became an important issue.

For those who no longer regarded slavery as a signal issue there were new ones which had risen to fill the void. At the beginning of the election year the war was yet to be won; the Confederacy seemed still to possess unexpected capacities for survival. The incomparable Lee was fending off Yankee columns with his accustomed ease, and Lincoln was about to begin the third year of his yet fruitless quest for a man of sufficient courage, ruthlessness, and genius to pit against the champion.

Though the war was still to be won, many were looking ahead to the peace. There were the problems of the freedmen, the South, and the new northern capitalistic society emerging as a result of the war, which had to be considered. By autumn the military balance seemed to shift at long last irretrievably in favor of the North, and

¹ Frederick W. Seward, *Seward at Washington as Senator and Secretary of State*, New York, 1891, III, 209.

everyone knew the year of decision to be at hand. The war was drawing to a close, and thinking men knew that the problems of the Negro, reconstruction, and industrialization would be upon Congress and the people. Though these portents loomed menacingly, they played a minor role in the political canvass of 1864. Emotionalism was the order of the day.

The Democrats, whose defection cost them the coveted office in 1860, were rebounding into the canvass of 1864 with a renewed vigor which had been whetted by their triumphs of 1862. Ultimately the Democrats' challenge was turned back by a happy combination of circumstances. To meet the Democratic issues which centered about war weariness, violations of civil liberties, and the personal shortcomings of "The indecent Joker," the Union party relied primarily upon the device of unfettered emotionalism.

The Unionists used the issue of domestic treason as their greatest weapon. Evidence of Democratic perfidy, Democratic treason, Democratic conspiracies, was unearthed, disclosed, and repeated into the ears and minds of audiences and readers until the public was nearly stupefied. The Unionists built their entire campaign around this one issue.

The single issue of domestic treason, however extensively it was utilized, would probably not have turned back the challenge of the Democratic party had it not been for two other factors which were present during the canvass. The war weariness which hung like a pall over the country during the summer of 1864 because of Grant's failures in Virginia, dissipated after September first in view of the military achievements of William Sherman, Philip Sheridan, and David Farragut. Lincoln's popularity, which for a few short weeks seemed to have almost vanished, was revived by the change of military events. The other element transcended both the treason issue and the military victories. It was to be found in the personality of the president: a man who had captured the imagination of the rank and file of American voters as no one else. It was the personal popularity of the candidate and the timely achievements of the Federal army which gave the election of 1864 to the Union party by a rather narrow margin.

Yet there was also a battle of words as each side sought to garner votes by introducing issues into the campaign. It is the purpose of this paper to explore the issues which were introduced most extensively by both parties.

The Democrats held their national convention late in August, and at the meeting the peace wing (Copperhead) of the party succeeded in gaining control of the deliberations and wrote a peace plank into the platform. It was the so-called "War failure" plank which gave the Union party an opportunity to exploit the issue of domestic treason.

The treason issue was by no means a new one. It had been thoroughly exploited and discussed before, but it was conveniently reintroduced during the presidential election. Prior to the Democratic convention at Chicago the accusations of treason remained rather general, but after the convention adopted a peace platform there were more definite points against which an attack could be directed.

The charges which the Unionists hurled at the convention and platform centered around four lines of attack. The first accusation was rather general and consisted of characterizing as treasonable all the speeches, deliberations, and activities of the party's convention. "Treason to the government has for hours at a time cascaded over the balconies on our out of doors listeners and pedestrians," reported the *Chicago Tribune*. While Horace Greeley commented that each speaker "seemed to try his best to outdo the last in going to the furthest limits of treasonable speech." Every man at the convention was a "black hearted traitor," was the considered opinion of the *New York Times*.² Such sweeping accusations could hardly have swayed many of the electorate. More direct and specific charges of treason were marshalled to prevent a Democratic victory at the polls.

The second accusation directed against the Democrats was that their sympathy toward the Confederacy was apparent in their unwillingness to censure it in their platform. One Unionist organ cried, "It is a significant fact, too, that the speakers at the convention were men who have . . . been noted as rebel sympathizers. . . . It is likewise noticeable that not one word has been uttered in condemnation of the rebellion." In denouncing the proceedings at Chicago for failing to condemn the rebellion, the Unionists hastened to point out that there had been no hesitation in attacking the administration.

² *New York Tribune*, September 2, 1864; *Chicago Tribune*, August 31, 1864; *New York Times*, September 24, 1864 John Brough, *The Defenders of the Country and Its Enemies. The Chicago Platform Dissected*, Cincinnati, 1864, 8; Gerrit Smith, *Gerrit Smith on McClellan's Nomination and Acceptance*, Loyal Publication Society No. 63, New York, 14; William Zornow, "Treason as a Campaign Issue in the Re-election of Lincoln," *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, V (June, 1949), 358-363.

The *Philadelphia Press* commented on Seymour's keynote speech, "The speech made by Horatio Seymour [Governor of New York] . . . is characteristic of the man and his party—not one word in denunciation of the rebellion, but hundreds in hatred of the Union." Governor John Brough of Ohio explained the failure to condemn the rebellion by charging that "the leaders of the Chicago Convention were the aiders and abettors of the Southern men who brought the rebellion upon us, and have been their sympathizers from that time to the present."³

The third point of attack on the platform was the insistence that it had been actually written at the instigation of southern agents. In editorials and speeches the Unionists maintained that the Democratic leaders prior to the convention went to Niagara Falls to confer with rebel agents and from this meeting emerged the platform adopted at Chicago. A Boston reporter wrote on the opening day of the convention, "The tone of the Convention today renders it certain that the programme agreed to at Niagara Falls between the Southern envoys and leading Democrats will be adopted here." The *New York Tribune* insisted, "It [the platform] was concocted by Rebels in Richmond . . . was agreed to by disloyal politicians of the North in a conference with rebels at Niagara Falls—and was taken to Chicago and adopted by a convention expressly chosen to adopt it."⁴

The fourth point of attack consisted of insisting that the convention was merely a phase of well laid plans of some secret Democratic societies to rebel against the government. The party, some insisted, was prepared to take over the government by force if Lincoln was re-elected. The *Boston Daily Journal* examined the platform editorially and found it composed of "hard words" which threatened "armed resistance to the government . . . in a certain contingency." Others claimed that the Democrats hoped to see the Union broken. They are "ready to barter the integrity of the Union for the sake of political power," proclaimed the *New York Tribune*. "There were not twenty men in the Chicago convention who sincerely believed in the Union, or who made any demonstrations of regard for the Union

³ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, August 30, 1864; *New York Times*, September 7 and 10, 1864; *Philadelphia Press*, August 31, September 1, 1864; *New York Herald*, September 28, 1864; *New York Tribune*, October 24, 1864; *Boston Daily Journal*, August 30, September 29, 1864; Brough, *Defenders of the Country*, 8.

⁴ *Boston Daily Journal*, August 30, September 29, 1864; *New York Tribune*, September 7, 22, 23, 1864; *New York Times*, September 7 and 23, 1864.

that were not intended to swindle and deceive the people," trumpeted the *Philadelphia Press*.⁵

The Democrats were hard pressed to find a means of replying to such accusations. The defense of their party revolved mainly around protestations that the Democracy was not a disunion party, but one whose chief aim was the restoration of the union. "The paramount aim of the Democratic party is to restore the Union," insisted the *New York World*, and this theme was belabored in the press and on the stump alike.⁶

The Democrats apparently hoped to counter-balance their disadvantageous position on the treason issue by charges against the Unionists based on alleged violations of civil liberties. Placed on the defensive by the treason issue, the Democrats found it increasingly difficult to reply to these accusations. To complicate matters further the charges that the Democratic societies known as the Sons of Liberty and Knights of the Golden Circle were involved in treasonable enterprises were revived later in September. The Unionists' accusations of treason directed against the party convention and platform had been difficult to substantiate, but thanks to Governor Oliver P. Morton of Indiana they were soon able to present the voters with what appeared to be more tangible proof of Democratic perfidy.

There were several secret organizations in operation throughout the Northern states during the war years, and the most famous of these was the Sons of Liberty, an organization of men (mostly Democrats) who were often suspected of plotting against the government. Harrison Dodd, Grand Commander of the order in Indiana, hatched a scheme to liberate some Confederate prisoners at Camp Morton and to create a Northwest Confederacy. His friends learned of the plan and succeeded in preventing Dodd from carrying out his poorly conceived scheme before any overt act of treason could be committed. Nevertheless, Morton, who had kept track of Dodd's activities by means of several spies and turncoats, had him arrested early in September and charged him with treason.

⁵ *New York Tribune*, September 8, 1864; *Philadelphia Press*, September 9 and 23, 1864; *Boston Daily Journal*, September 15, 1864; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, September 18, 1864; *The Chicago Copperhead Convention*, Washington, 1864, 4; Charles Drake, *Speech of Charles D. Drake Delivered before the National Union Association at Cincinnati, October 1, 1864*, n. p. 1864, 15.

⁶ *New York World*, September 1, 2, 6, 27, 1864; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, September 2, 1864; *Boston Daily Journal*, September 19, 1864; Henry Clinton, *Speech of Henry L. Clinton of New York at Patchogue, Long Island, October 1, 1864*, n. d., n. p., 1, 20.

The treason trials at Indianapolis of Dodd and some of his associates never proved that the Democrats were in league with the southern rebels or that an overt act of treason had been committed, but through judicious editing, aspersions, and downright distortion of fact, Unionist editors, speakers, and politicians were able to form a link in the public mind between the forces of disunion, the Sons of Liberty, and the Democratic party. There seemed to be no doubt in the public mind that the Democrats were engaged in treasonable activities which threatened the safety of the Northern government.⁷

The message of Democratic perfidy was carried over the nation. The wavering were won to the cause. The apathy which had marked the canvass during the summer months gave way to a bustling activity, as voters turned out to hear stump orators haranguing about treason. Gustav Koerner, who was campaigning for Lincoln, wrote that it was useless to speak unless one chose as his text the time honored one of domestic treason. The audiences were loathe to listen to anything else.⁸ "The expose of the Sons of Liberty is tearing the ranks of the Democracy to flinders," wrote a Unionist in Indiana, "McClellan stock is not quoted at all. McDonald [gubernatorial nominee in Indiana] stock is fast going down."⁹ Edward Bates wrote in his diary that "Even matters of the gravest intrinsic importance are, just now, viewed and acted upon only in their relations to the pending elections—e.g., the prosecution of Dodd et al (*Sons of Liberty!*) in Inda."¹⁰ There could be no doubt that the Unionists were finding the Dodd trial an excellent bit of political capital.

The Dodd trial had no sooner ended when Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt issued a report on October 16 further exposing the activities of the secret societies. The Holt report served as a convenient device to keep the public aware of the nature and magnitude of the treason being committed by the Democratic party. A special edition was prepared and circulated as campaign propa-

⁷ The situation in Indiana may be studied in detail in Kenneth M. Stampp, "The Milligan Case and the Election in 1864 in Indiana," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXI (June, 1944), 41-58; William Zornow, "Indiana and the Election of 1864," *Indiana Magazine of History*, (March, 1949).

⁸ Gustav Koerner, *Memoir of Gustav Koerner, 1809-1896*, Cedar Rapids, 1909, II, 434-436.

⁹ W. H. Terrell to General Wilder, September 6, 1864, in Stampp, *loc. cit.*, 55.

¹⁰ Howard Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866*, Washington, 1933, 422.

ganda.¹¹ "If there is a prudent, a thoughtful man in this country who thinks of voting for McClellan, we pray him to study the astounding testimony in the treason trial at Indianapolis," said the *New York Tribune*.¹²

Against this attack the Democrats had no defense and merely revealed their impotence by the billingsgate denunciation they poured upon the Unionists.¹³ In addition to the exposé of the activities of the Sons of Liberty in Indiana and Dodd's trial, other plots were revealed during the late summer to facilitate the Unionists' victories in the state and national canvass. The *Chicago Tribune* reported a plot to liberate six thousand prisoners from Camp Douglas near Chicago, and a spy testified that many prominent Democrats were involved in it. In Ohio a conspiracy led from Canada by John Y. Beall for the purpose of liberating some Confederate prisoners on Johnson's Island and capturing the *U. S. S. Michigan* on Lake Erie, was alleged to have been hatched by the Sons of Liberty and the Democrats. A rumor spread that Confederate agents were gathering in Canada to burn Detroit in the event that the Democrats lost the election.¹⁴

In addition to attacking the Democratic party as an organization and trying to stigmatize it as treasonable, the Unionists also directed some of their heaviest fire against the two nominees George McClellan and George Pendleton. There was an oft repeated rumor that McClellan had visited Lee shortly before the battle of Antietam. Some insisted that he had been volunteering his services to the Confederacy. Others claimed he had given ammunition to Lee during the battle of Antietam. There was another story that he had hidden

¹¹ *Report of the Judge Advocate General on 'The Order of American Knights' Alias 'The Sons of Liberty': A Western Conspiracy in Aid of the Southern Rebellion*, Washington, 1864. There are many letters in the Joseph Holt MSS, Library of Congress, commenting on the effectiveness of the report during the election.

¹² *New York Tribune*, October 3 and 4, 1864; *Chicago Tribune*, October 8, 1864; *Albany Evening Journal*, October 5, 1864; *Boston Daily Journal*, October 12 and 24, 1864; *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus), October 17, 1864; *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, August 24, September 9, 1864.

¹³ *The Crisps* (Columbus, Ohio), August 10, 1864; *Detroit Free Press*, August 2, 1864; *Chicago Times*, September 7, 1864; *New York World*, October 20, 1864; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 24, 1864; *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, October 16 and 20, 1864; *Madison Patriot* (Wisconsin), November 3, 1864.

¹⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, November 8 and 9, 1864; *Chicago Times*, November 8 and 9, 1864; Arthur Cole, *The Era of the Civil War*, Springfield, Ill., 1919, 310-311; William Zornow, "Confederate Raiders on Lake Erie: Their Propaganda Value in 1864," *Inland Seas*, V (Spring, 1949), (Summer, 1949), 101-105; I. Winslow Ayer, *The Great Northwestern Conspiracy in all its Startling Detail*, Chicago, 1865, 111-112.

away safely aboard a gunboat during the cannonading at Malvern Hill. In comparing McClellan to the Copperheads, Gerrit Smith noted, "It is true that their treason is more open and noisy than his, but his is nevertheless as real and earnest as theirs."¹⁵ Pendleton too came in for a share of venom. A pamphlet was prepared to acquaint the voters with the full range of his treason. "George H. Pendleton . . ." declared the document, "has persistently pursued in Congress that course most calculated to encourage the armed enemies of the country, and to foster secession and treason of all kinds and grades." Pendleton's career was set forth in the most damning light. He was labelled "The Great Dodger" because, the Unionists said, whenever a bill was being discussed or voted upon in Congress which would be beneficial to the union, Pendleton dodged into the cloakroom to avoid having to vote for it.¹⁶

What hurt the Democrats most in attempting to defend their party against the charge of treason was that many of their own men turned on them and joined the attack. The War-Democrats, who were campaigning for Lincoln, urged all loyal Democrats to support the president and to have nothing to do with the treason-ridden Democratic party.¹⁷ There were many Democrats in 1864 who were convinced that their party was tainted with treason and sought to entice their fellows away from supporting it. Their efforts culminated in a giant rally of War-Democrats in New York to protest the proceedings at Chicago and to repudiate them in the name of all loyal Democrats.

During the canvass the attack on the platform and the "war failure" plank was probably misdirected, for it assumed disloyal

¹⁵ Emile Bourlier to the Union League of Philadelphia, September (?), 1864, in Western Reserve Historical Society MSS; Smith, *Gerrit Smith*, 12; *New York Tribune*, August 30, 1864; *New York Times*, September 8, 1864; Benjamin F. Wade, *Facts for the People. Ben Wade on McClellan and Generals Hooker and Heintzelman's Testimony. A Crushing Review of Little Napoleon's Career*, Cincinnati, 1864; *Sights and Notes by a Looker-on in Vienna*, Washington, 1864; George Wilkes, "McClellan," *Who He Is and "What He Has Done"* and *Little Mac: "From Ball's Bluff to Antietam"*, New York, 1864. Lincoln apparently doubted McClellan's loyalty, too. Tyler Dennett, ed., *Abraham Lincoln in the Diary and Letters of John Hay*, New York, 1939, 218-219.

¹⁶ *George H. Pendleton: The Copperhead Candidate for Vice-President*, Washington, 1864; *Congressional Record of George H. Pendleton*, Philadelphia, 1864.

¹⁷ Morgan Dix, *Memoirs of John Adams Dix*, New York, 1883, II, 93; William Swinton, *The War for the Union from Fort Sumter to Atlanta*, n. d., n. p.; *Letters of Loyal Soldiers*, Loyal Publication Society No. 64, 4; *Ohio State Journal*, November 5, 1864; *New York Tribune*, November 2, 1864; *Harper's Weekly*, October 22, 1864; *Cleveland Daily Leader*, November 4 and 7, 1864.

intentions on the part of those who framed the document. Actually such was not the case, for even most of the strongest advocates of peace and an armistice wanted an ultimate convention to arrange a reunion of the states. The majority of the party stood with McClellan on a platform calling for a vigorous prosecution of the war and peace only after the South had accepted reunion.¹⁸

The attacks on the Democrats' convention and platform might have been indefensible, but the charges against McClellan and Pendleton reached the nadir of campaign strategy. In the long run, however, if one can believe Edward Bates, the denunciation of McClellan hurt the Unionists more than it aided them. Bates noted in his diary that "these charges of treachery and treason, not well established by proof, do but take off the edge from other accusations which cannot be defended, thus, discrediting the best founded objection against him, and exciting a popular sympathy for him as a persecuted man."¹⁹

The accusation of treason was the most decisive issue presented in the campaign by the Unionists. Thurlow Weed, who was undoubtedly a competent authority on judging the various factors involved in the campaign, wrote that "the disloyalty of the Democratic party . . . worked its own over-throw. Mr. Lincoln is to be re-elected (if at all) on the blunders and folly of his enemies."²⁰

More important than the fact that the treason issue was the most used and probably most decisive issue of the campaign of 1864 is the fact that the opprobrium of treason was to hang upon the Democratic party for twenty years. The "Great Conspiracy" of 1864 was the warp in the fabric of the bloody shirt. Daniel S. Dickinson, writing in August of 1864 when the spectre of domestic treason was beginning to stalk the canvass, said concerning the Democratic party, "Now it has the taint of disloyalty, which whether true or false will cling to it, like the poisoned shirt of Nessus, for a century."²¹ This proved to be a most prophetic observation.

While the Union party was succeeding so completely in fixing the stigma of treason upon its political opponents, the Democrats were hard pressed to uncover an issue which they could inject into

¹⁸ After the convention McClellan was offered the nomination, but he repudiated the platform and presented his own in his letter of acceptance.

¹⁹ Beale, *Diary of Edward Bates*, 423.

²⁰ Weed to John Bigelow, October 19, 1864, in John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life*, New York, 1909, II, 221-222.

²¹ Daniel Dickinson to Colonel Willard, August 15, 1864, in John R. Dickinson, *Speeches, Correspondence, etc., of the late Daniel S. Dickinson*, New York, 1867, II, 202-203.

the campaign to counteract these damning allegations. The whole campaign resulted in a general obscuring of issues. The voting public went to the polls in November with no clear issues before it. The false emphasis placed on the "war failure" plank beclouded the basic facts of the campaign. Actually, Lincoln and McClellan were agreed on nearly all fundamental points except emancipation. Had the Democrats won the election they would have been under the leadership of a man whose previous training, public utterances, and letter of acceptance made it clear that he would accept no peace with the Confederacy except on the basis of a prior recognition of the Union.²² This fact was reiterated by leading party spokesmen on innumerable occasions. In speaking of the Chicago convention, Seymour remarked, "I have seen much of political gatherings, but never before did I attend a convention so absorbed by one single idea—to save our Union and to save our country." Even Copperhead leader, Pendleton, insisted the party was pledged to "the restoration of peace on the basis of the Federal Union of the states."²³

Many Unionist editors knew the true situation and fearing that their readers might realize McClellan was committed to a restoration of the federal union, they hastened to add that the general would not really be the master of his party but would yield the sceptre to the copperheads. "The imbecility of McClellan will surrender it [the country] to the traitors' hands," said one Unionist. Another opined that neither McClellan nor the War-Democrats would "have any hand in shaping the policy of the party." but that would be done by Clement Vallandigham, the leader of the Copperheads who had written the war failure plank, who was "a southerner by birth and a traitor by profession."²⁴

The editors insisted the Copperheads were ready to destroy the union for the sake of peace. Here again they beclouded the facts of the campaign, for most of the Copperheads did not wish to see the union shattered. To be sure, there was a leaven of such wild fanatics within the Democratic party, but they were a decided minority. Though they clamored for peace, the majority of the Copperheads

²² George McClellan, *West Point Oration*, New York, 1864, 6.

²³ Thomas Cook and Thomas Knox, *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, New York, 1868, 241; George Comstock, *Speech Delivered in the Brooklyn Academy of Music*, New York, 1864, 2; Robert Winthrop, *Speech of Honorable R. C. Winthrop at the Great Ratification Meeting in Union Square, New York, September 17, 1864*, New York, 1864, 6-7.

²⁴ John Hamilton, *Coercion Completed or Treason Triumphant*, Loyal Publication Society No. 66, New York, 24; Charles Bristed, *The Cowards' Convention*, Loyal Publication Society, No. 68, New York, 3.

also stood for an armistice and an "eventual convention" of the states to discuss reunion. They may not have been able to achieve such a desire, especially after the fighting had been suspended, but that does not detract from the fact they sincerely believed the union could be restored only by an armistice and negotiation.

The voters in 1864 went to the polls with no clear conception of what the issues were before them. Since the war seemed to be drawing to a close during the last months before the election, it seems likely that the question of reconstruction should have entered as one of the principal issues of the campaign, but such was not the case. The prospect of having reconstruction introduced as an issue in the campaign was none too pleasant to the Unionists; it was a question which had already seriously weakened their party. "I most fear the rock on which we shall split will prove to be reconstruction," said one of Senator Morrill's correspondents as he voiced the fears of many.²⁵

The Union party was filled with many small springs of tension which threatened to become uncoiled at any moment. There was the ever present rivalry of the Radicals and Conservatives. Many of the former had grown suspicious of Lincoln's designs and were prone to condemn not only his moderate policies but his practice of rewarding many of his old Whig cronies and former Democrats. There was a faint stirring of nativism among the members who hated to see the party making concessions to foreigners.²⁶ Wisdom dictated putting the quietus on the reconstruction question, for there was no point in further aggravating a delicate situation.

A discreet silence was maintained by the Unionists for several months before their convention on the question of reconstruction, and at Baltimore no reference was made in the platform to this troublesome problem. The rallying cry was based on an appeal for all-out cooperation to win the war. There had been a few malcontents who sought to upset the delicate equilibrium by introducing the problem of reconstruction in the Cleveland platform.²⁷ It was

²⁵ S. Swiatt to Justin Morrill, June 2, 1864, in Morrill MSS, Library of Congress.

²⁶ Arthur C. Cole, "Lincoln and the Presidential Election of 1864," *Illinois State Historical Society Transactions*, Springfield, 1917, 136-137.

²⁷ When it became apparent that Lincoln's renomination could not be checked, a group of malcontents met at Cleveland on May 31 and nominated General John C. Frémont on a platform calling for immediate emancipation, an all-out prosecution of the war, and confiscations of rebel property. This movement later expired when Lincoln's popularity revived in September, and Frémont withdrew from the running.

fortunate, indeed, that circumstances prevented this movement assuming greater proportions otherwise the party might have divided.

The Democrats, who were aware that reconstruction was the Achilles' heel of the Union party, sought to bring it into the campaign as an issue in the hope, perhaps, that it would sunder the opposition. They took the view that the rebellious states were still within the Union and were embraced by the constitution. The president had no authority to make conditions not fixed by the constitution as a basis for their recognition as states. His only duty was to execute the laws and to subdue the armed power of the rebels. Whenever armed resistance ceased, the states would be restored without condition and without change.

They sought in every way to couple the Democracy with the forces of peace and reunion. They insisted, as was indicated before, that theirs was the true union party. It was their intention, they claimed, to restore the union under the old constitution. The Unionists, according to the Democratic version, were seeking to make the restoration of the union of secondary importance to the destruction of slavery.²⁸ They insisted that the Union party, which was seeking to reconstruct the Union on the basis of emancipation and vindictive measures, could never hope to achieve peace. Speaking of the autumn military victories, Seymour remarked,

These victories will only establish military governments in the South, to be upheld at the expense of Northern lives and treasure. They will bring no real peace, if they only introduce a system of wild theories, which will waste as war wastes; theories which will bring us to bankruptcy and ruin. The administration cannot give us union or peace after victories.²⁹

The Democrats not only claimed that their opponents were making peace and reunion impossible by insisting upon emancipation and other excessively severe conditions, but they also tried to show that by freeing the Negro they were sanctioning his equality and encouraging racial amalgamation.³⁰

²⁸ George McClellan, *Letter of Acceptance*, New York, 1864, 1; Joel Parker, *Speech . . . at Freehold, New Jersey, August 20, 1864*, New York, 1864, 4; Amasa Parker, *Speech of the Hon. Amasa Parker at the Cooper Institute, Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge*, (SDPK hereafter), New York, 1864, 6; Sanford Church, *Speech by Hon. Sanford E. Church at Batavia, October 13, 1863*, SDPK, 1864, 3; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 14, 1864.

²⁹ Cook and Knox, *Public Record of Seymour*, 253; *Hear Honorable George H. Pendleton*, New York, 1864, 5-8; Winthrop, *Speech*, 3-4; August Belmont, *Letters, Speeches, and Addresses of August Belmont*, n. p., 1900, 142-144.

³⁰ Sidney Kaplan, "The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," *The Journal of Negro History*, XXXIV (July, 1949) 274-343; *Cleveland*

Not only did they claim that reconstruction based on emancipation would prolong the war and make the Negro the equal of white men, but they also attacked Lincoln's moderate ten percent plan as an insidious scheme to perpetuate his administration in power.³¹

The Unionists consistently refused to join forces with the Democrats on the reconstruction issue, although the gauntlet was thrown to them on several occasions. The question loomed during the summer months within the Union party ranks. The conflict provoked over Lincoln's message to Congress in December 1863 concerning reconstruction, and his veto of the Wade-Davis Bill in July was serious, but the important point is that this deep seated conflict within the party was never allowed to become an issue in the campaign. Conditions in September forced even the wildest to renew their homage to Lincoln and the Radical Democratic party, which had been born at Cleveland and could have exploited the question, conveniently expired later that month.

The voter was never presented with a clear concept of the various modes of reconstruction. At least the campaign speeches, pamphlets, and newspapers gave him no enlightenment on this bothersome question. Since these three media were the average man's source of information on political questions it is safe to assume that the majority knew little or nothing of the various phases of the problem. Perhaps, he did not really care to know, for the war was yet to be won, and this was the voter's principal concern rather than the problem of a peace which was at least several months removed.

Since the issue of reconstruction was so vaguely presented on the national level by the Union party and was scarcely mentioned at all on the lower electoral levels, popular opinion on this matter could not have been else but confused. The voters did not have an opportunity to express an opinion on this point, since the issue was not clearly presented to them. It is inconceivable that the Radical

Plain Dealer, October 14, November 3, 1864; Hiram Ketchum, *General McClellan's Peninsular Campaign*, New York, 1864, 64; John Hopkins, *Bible View of Slavery*, SDPK, No. 8; Samuel F. B. Morse, *An Argument on the Ethical Position of Slavery and Its Relation to the Politics of the Day*, SDPK, No. 12; *Lincoln Catechism Wherein The Eccentricities and Beauties of Despotism Are Fully Set Forth*, New York, 1864, 27-28; Charles Mason, *The Election in Iowa*, SDPK, No. 11, and No. 6, *Emancipation and Its Results*; *Miscegenation Endorsed by the Republican Party*, New York, 1864.

³¹ Comstock, *Speech*, 6-7; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 15, 1864; *The Crisis*, October 26, 1864; *New York World*, October 26, 1864; *Address of the National Democratic Committee, The Perils of the Nation. Usurpations of the Administration in Maryland and Tennessee*, Washington, 1864, 3.

Republicans could later justify their program during Johnson's administration as the fruit of a popular mandate which they had been given in 1864.

This confusion did not apply to the question of emancipation, for the issue on this point was introduced on the nation, state, and local levels so consistently and so transparently that there was no doubt where the parties stood. In April the Senate had passed a resolution, which was destined to become the future thirteenth amendment, and sent it to the House. It was defeated here by sixty-five Democratic votes. Thus, emancipation became an issue in the campaign.³² By taking a stand squarely against emancipation by executive or congressional action the Democrats announced to the country that they were opposed to the contemplated thirteenth amendment which the Unionists demanded in their platform and which each slave state would have been peremptorily required to adopt.

All branches of the Union party, Moderate and Radical, were in agreement that the hated institution would have no place in the reconstructed union. Both the Baltimore and Cleveland conventions as well as the state and many county gatherings of the party made this clear in their resolutions. Slavery was the main support of the rebellion and had to be destroyed if peace was to be permanent, they said, as they scoffed at the Democratic contention that peace could be enduringly concluded simply on the basis of the old constitution. Even Lincoln, who throughout the canvass made no speeches, wrote a statement in which he maintained the war could not be won without the Negroes' help and this would not be forthcoming "with the express or implied understanding that upon the first convenient occasion they are to be re-enslaved."³³ The Unionists made it clear they intended to further the cause of emancipation and make it an integral part of their post-war program.

Since the issue was so clearly cut on this point, with the Democrats opposing and the Unionists sustaining the proposed amendment, it is conceivable that the latter party could regard its success at the polls as a mandate for such an amendment. The Unionists went

³² John B. McMaster, *A History of the United States during Lincoln's Administration*, New York, 1927, 507-508.

³³ Smith, *Gerrit Smith*, 9; Bristed, *Cowards' Convention*, 2-3; Charles Sumner, *The Works of Charles Sumner*, Boston, 1874-1883, IX, 79; William E. Barton, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Indianapolis, 1925, II, 299-300; *Peace to be Enduring Must Be Conquered*, New York, 1864, 1-4; *Biographical Sketch of Andrew Johnson*, Washington, 1864, 6-12; Washington Hunt, *Speech of Ex-Governor Hunt at Lockport*, SDPK, No. 14, 6.

no further, however, than to insist that emancipation would be a necessary part of reconstruction and peace. They carefully avoided references to the status of the Negro in the post-war society, for on this point there was no agreement among the segments of the party. Any popular mandate which might have been given by the voters would, consequently, extend only to the desirability of enacting such an amendment and was not to be construed as an expression of popular sentiment on the question of enfranchisement or equality.

The war weariness which manifested itself throughout the summer days because of the adverse war news from Virginia, provided the Democrats with a second issue which they sought to introduce into the canvass. This issue took a variety of forms: (1) the policies of the administration were such as to urge the South to greater resistance, (2) the administration would not make peace because the end of the war would mean its defeat at the polls, (3) Lincoln would not make peace because it would put an end to the war-time prosperity. The *World* claimed that Lincoln "would make no peace now even if he could dictate the terms. Peace and separation would ruin him with the North and prevent his election; peace and reunion would enable the South to participate in the Presidential election, which would be equally fatal to his prospects." Samuel Medary of *The Crisis* noted, "Mr. Lincoln may wish the end—peace and freedom—but he is wholly unwilling to use the means which can secure that end."³⁴

According to the Democrats this unnecessary prolongation of the war had many dire consequences for the country, and the blame for these ill effects was to be laid at Lincoln's door. The war was decreasing national wealth, said the Democrats, for the absence of more than one million boys in the army diminished the productive population by one fifth. The war has "already set back the country, as a whole, ten years in its progress, and . . . weakened us irreparably for future development," lamented *The Crisis*.³⁵

Another direct consequence of this prolongation of the war, according to the Democrats, was an enormous increase in the cost of goods. This was a point which every consumer in the North

³⁴ *New York World*, July 22, 1864; *The Crisis*, June 1, 22, 29, 1864; *Chicago Times*, January 8, March 16, 18, 1864; Comstock, *Speech*, 2; Belmont, *Letters, Speeches*, 142; Cook and Knox, *Public Record of Seymour*, 237-241; Edgar Cowan, *Speech of Honorable Edward Cowan of Pennsylvania in the Senate of the United States, June 27, 1864*, New York, 1864, 15-16; James Gallatin, *Address of Hon. J. Gallatin before the Democratic Union Association, October 8, 1864*, n. p., 1864.

³⁵ *The Crisis*, June 1, 1864.

could easily comprehend, for all had felt the pinch of war-time inflation. "If Mr. Lincoln's three years' misrule has run up the prices of coal to \$15; flour, \$16; butter, 60 cents; coffee, 60 cents; clothing to five times its former price—and everything that the people eat, drink, and wear, in a similar proportion—what will be their prices if Mr. Lincoln is reelected?"³⁶ wailed Medary.

Even more vehement were the denunciations heaped upon the president because of the increased national debt. The opposition press was quick to take advantage of the potentialities afforded by the increasing cost of the war and pointed out that such a course was leading to "utter bankruptcy and ruin." According to the Democrats, Lincoln's administration had increased the public debt by seven hundred million dollars, "more than the whole expense of the government from the Declaration of Independence to March 4, 1861." The writer asked the voters, "Can we afford such a President for four years more?" Democratic propaganda agencies printed for distribution two documents on the question of war debts; one reminded the public that Lincoln had spent more to defeat the South (which he had not yet done) than Europe spent to defeat Napoleon, and the other foolishly condemned him for not balancing the budget even in war-time.³⁷

The events of the late summer deprived the Democrats of every opportunity to capitalize upon the war weariness which swept the country earlier. The lassitude, the dissatisfaction with the war melted swiftly before the thundering guns of the victorious Union army. By September the North was stirring with life and enthusiasm for the cause; it quickened again at news of victory. The sacrifice, the sorrow had not been in vain, and all plunged with renewed spirit into the task of making victory secure. Time passed the Democrats by, and they found themselves trying to utilize a situation which ceased to exist after September 1. The futile conferences at Niagara and in Richmond also did much to dissipate the issues based on war weariness. All could see most clearly that sweet reasonableness was not to prevail against the South's desire to determine its own destiny. If reunion was to be achieved it could be done only as the Unionists claimed—by a military victory and by nothing else. McClellan,

³⁶ *Ibid.*; *New York World*, September 22, 1864.

³⁷ *The Crisis*, September 21, 1864; *New York World*, September 24, 1864; James Brooks, *Remarks of Mr. Brooks in the House of Representatives, March 7*, SDPK, No. 20; Thomas E. Kettell, *The History of the War Debt of England. The History of the War Debt of the United States, and the Two Compared*, SDPK, No. 17.

too, destroyed his party's power to capitalize on this issue when he repudiated the peace plank of the platform. He could offer nothing more than Lincoln; the war must go on for all possibility of a negotiated peace was past, and further talk on that point was useless.

Another issue which the Democrats sought to exploit most thoroughly was the question of civil liberties. Circumstances seemed to dictate the choice of this issue. There was a strong faction within the Union party which had protested to Lincoln's violations of civil liberties, and the Democrats probably hoped to aggravate this situation further by introducing the question into the canvass. It was also an accusation designed to place the Unionists in an embarrassing position, for there was no possible reply to the charges.

The central theme of the Democrats was that the repeated violations of civil liberties were undermining the constitution, and that if such practices were permitted to continue the entire pattern of American freedom would be permanently warped or, perhaps, lost forever. The fourth plank of their platform was a positive statement against "arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in states where civil law exists in full force."

As the issue of civil liberty was developed during the canvass it blossomed into something broader than a mere attack on Lincoln's arbitrary arrests. The Democrats rejected the confiscation acts and conscription, censured Lincoln for interfering with elections and for imposing test oaths upon the citizens of reconstructed states.³⁸ The Democrats also devoted much attention to Lincoln's interference with the freedom of the press. The unfortunate incident which came during the canvass when Lincoln's government suspended the publication of the *New York World* and the *Journal of Commerce* gave the Democrats much ammunition to explode during the summer.³⁹

The Democrats concentrated, however, on a denunciation of Lincoln's administration for the suspension of *habeas corpus* and arbitrary arrests. Probably about 38,000 persons were arrested during the war.⁴⁰ Much could be made of the cases of such prominent men as Clement Vallandigham, but the Democrats were more

³⁸ George Curtis, *Honorable George Ticknor Curtis on Constitutional Liberty*, New York, 1864, 1, 6; Parker, *Speech*, 2, 7; Comstock, *Speech*, 5; *Address of the National Democratic Committee on the Perils of the Nation*, New York, 1864, 1-2; Edward Hamilton, *A Republican's View of the Administration Policy*, Boston, 1864, 10.

³⁹ About two hundred papers were suppressed during the War, Manton Marble, *Freedom of the Press Wantonly Violated. Letter of Mr. Marble to President Lincoln*, SDPK, No. 22.

⁴⁰ James Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln*, New York, 1926, 152.

anxious to concentrate upon arousing the people over the plight of the thousands of anonymous persons who were spirited from their families by Lincoln's felons. Neither age, sex nor social position and profession protected people from the usurpations of the administration, said the Democrats. Lincoln was accused of arresting a thirteen year old boy. Stories were circulated of how clergymen were arrested at their altars, judges on their benches, and even some mourners were arrested in a funeral procession. Many of these unfortunate wretches, said the Democrats, went insane after being confined in groups of three in cells which measured a scant three by six feet.⁴¹

The Democrats hoped to make their greatest appeal to the voters on the civil liberties issue, but failed because they misjudged public reaction. John Sherman wrote to his brother that "all the clamor the Copperheads can make about personal liberty doesn't affect the people, if they can only see security and success. Bad precedents in time of war will easily be corrected by peace."⁴² The Union party had been seriously divided over the civil liberty question, but the regrouping of the party late in September served to quiet opposition to Lincoln on this point. Speakers, writers, and editors sought to justify his actions on the ground of military necessity. Their defense was, perhaps, a flimsy one, but when news of victory came at last the people were willing to overlook these violations in their enthusiasm at the approach of peace. It was Sherman's prediction coming true; the prospect of peace made them forget bad precedents of wartime.

The revelations of conspiracies and treasonable machinations in the Northwest could not have done else but convince many that Lincoln's government had acted for the public good. His methods may not have been in accord with the letter of the constitution, but they saved the country from foes without and within, and that is all the voters asked. Another point is that though Lincoln's government seized nearly 40,000 persons, his was no police state, the majority

⁴¹ *Mr. Lincoln's Arbitrary Arrests: The Acts Which the Baltimore Convention Approves*, New York, 1864; *Ovation at the Academy of Music. July 4, 1863*, SDPK, No. 7; *Reply to President Lincoln's Letter on June 12, 1863*, SDPK, No. 10; John Pugh, *Speech of Mr. Pugh to 50,000 Voters Who Nominated Vallandigham and Resolved to Elect Him Governor of Ohio*, SDPK, No. 9; Reverdy Johnson, *Reply of Hon. Reverdy Johnson to the Paper Which Judge Advocate Holt Furnished to the President, Urging General Porter's Condemnation*, n. p., n. d.

⁴² Rachael Thorndike, ed., *The Sherman Letters*, New York, 1894, 237; Jacob Cooper, *The Loyalty Demanded by the Present Crisis*, Philadelphia, 1864, 17.

were left to enjoy their liberties. While Democratic propagandists and speakers flayed the government for interfering with their rights, Lincoln made no effort to stop them. Such a situation must have given many voters reason to reflect upon the truth of the Democrats' assertions that Lincoln was a power-mad dictator bent on suppressing all opposition.

The Democrats were pointing up a very fundamental question which circumstances of the war served to obscure. They were right in their assertion that there was likelihood of permanent danger inherent in subverting constitutional guarantees. They raised objections to the doctrine of loyalty which "required [them] to acquiesce in silence in the judgment of the public servants as to what the public necessities require."⁴³ Without an ever vigilant minority, liberties long secured may be lost. Sherman proved to be correct and the Democrats were wrong; peace brought a reversal of bad tendencies, but it need not have happened that way. Given a different executive, a prolongation of hostilities or a weakening of American resources and institutions, and the Democrats' predictions could have proved to be true.

The Democrats replied to the attacks on McClellan by turning some heavy fire on Lincoln. They ridiculed his unpolished language, ungainly appearance, and lack of education. His habit of telling stories was vigorously denounced. A campaign story given wide circulation was that Lincoln, while riding over the battlefield of Antietam, requested Ward Lamon to sing a rollicking song about Benjamin Butler. The story was denied by Lamon in private letters, but Lincoln never permitted him to prepare a public statement on the episode.⁴⁴

Since the president was known among the people as "Honest Abe," it was only natural that this should also become a point of attack. The *World* explained, "It is in itself a suspicious thing to find the prefix 'Honest' attached to the name of anyone, the most obvious inference being that it is given in *badinage* to some person, whose habits are notoriously the reverse." The accusations of dishonesty reached into Lincoln's own household, and his son Robert was charged with accepting graft.⁴⁵

⁴³ George Curtis, *The True Conditions of American Loyalty*, SDPK, No. 5, p. 6.

⁴⁴ Paul Angle, ed., *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, Boston, 1930, 356-359.

⁴⁵ *New York World*, September 22, 23, 1864; *Corruptions and Frauds of Lincoln's Administration*, New York, 1864, *Address of National Democratic Committee*, 3.

A host of miscellaneous accusations against Lincoln included charges that he was "reaching for the imperial purple . . . under the baseless and groundless pretence of military necessity," that he had perverted the war aims, that he was an atheist, and that he had prolonged the war by removing from command any general whose exploits threatened to overshadow him. They even said that while others were paid in depreciated greenbacks, Lincoln insisted upon receiving his salary in gold.⁴⁶

As was so often true during the canvass the Radical Republicans played into the hands of the Democratic propagandists by drawing similar indictments against their chief. If the Democrats complained that Lincoln had interfered with McClellan's campaigning on the peninsula, the Germans were equally vocal about his mistreatment of John C. Frémont. If the Democrats accused him of desiring to perpetuate his administration, of circumventing the constitution, and of dishonesty and incapacity, one need only read the Pomeroy Circular, the Wade-Davis Manifesto, Frémont's letter of acceptance of the Cleveland nomination, and Wendell Phillips' letter to that convention to find identical sentiments expressed. This fact was not lost upon the Democrats, and a pamphlet was distributed showing the voters the low opinions which many Republicans had of Lincoln.⁴⁷

The issues were joined by both parties with a vehemence seldom exceeded in an American presidential election. Stimulated by the war fever the canvassers exerted themselves to the utmost throughout the later days of the campaign. One of them later recalled:

Night and day, without cessation, young men like myself, in halls, upon street corners, and from cart-tails, were haranguing, pleading, sermonizing, orating, arguing, extolling our cause, and our candidate, and denouncing our opponents. A deal of oratory, elocution, rhetoric, declamation, and eloquence was hurled into the troubled air by speakers on both sides.⁴⁸

The campaign, unfortunately, decided no real question except which party was to rule for the next term, and it did not even conclusively settle this point. The National Union party, which won the election, soon began to disintegrate. Its many elements had been held together by a common desire to win the war, but

⁴⁶ Comstock, *Speech*, 3; *Harper's Weekly*, October 1, 1864; *Lincoln Catechism*, 1; *Lincoln's Treatment of Grant*. *Mr. Lincoln's Treatment of General McClellan. The Taint of Disunion*, New York, 1864.

⁴⁷ *Republican Opinions about Lincoln*, n. p., 1864.

⁴⁸ Abram Dittenhoefer, *How We Elected Lincoln*, New York, 1916, 87-88.

when it was over they began to separate. The Republican party began to reappear after the war, and it was the extreme element of this party which eventually gained control of affairs.⁴⁹ Once in the saddle after Lincoln's death these Radicals proclaimed themselves armed with a mandate to carry out a Carthaginian peace.

The question naturally arises as to whether or not there was such a mandate, and if so, how extensive was it? On the strength of the issues presented by both parties during the campaign one must conclude that no such all-inclusive mandate could have been given. The Union party won the election because it had a candidate whose popular appeal was, except for a few weeks in July and August, greater than any other man who could have been nominated by either party. The military victories achieved during the critical moment of the canvass revived whatever prestige the chief executive might have lost during the summer and proved to the voters that the war was drawing to a successful conclusion. The ill-timed war failure plank and the stupidity of the Democrats who permitted their ultras to become involved in activities of a seemingly treasonable nature, provided the Union party with its most effectively exploited and most decisive issue.

On the question of reconstruction the issue was so confused that there was no definite choice before the electorate. The Union platform is silent on this point, and the Democrats merely proclaimed that they favored a restoration of the union and the old constitution. Had the Democrats had their way possibly there would have been a battle over reconstruction, but the Unionists, for reasons already noted, refused to accept the challenge. The issue of civil liberties was important in the campaign, but the voters seemed to be unwilling to call Lincoln to account after it became apparent that the war was coming to an end. In the North there were no ill-effects of Lincoln's "usurpations," and the full liberties of the people were restored speedily after the war. The vicious assaults upon the character, intelligence, and integrity of the two rival candidates was regrettable and cruel, but they could hardly be construed as offering a popular mandate on any point. No other significant issues were introduced in the campaign.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that there was a general blurring of party lines on many of these issues. Many Unionists agreed with the Democrats on the issue of civil liberties

⁴⁹ William Dunning, "The Second Birth of the Republican Party," *The American Historical Review*, XVI (October, 1910), 63-65.

and shared their low opinion of Lincoln's character and denounced his dictatorial tendencies.

Both parties, however, did take positive stands on the emancipation question. The Democrats opposed emancipation by executive, congressional action, or by amendment because they believed it was lengthening the war and would have evil consequences for both races; the Unionists announced themselves favorable to a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. The voters were given a precise choice, so that a Union party victory did offer a mandate on this point.

Beyond the question of emancipation the voters were deciding merely on two personalities. It was Lincoln who had their affectionate support, and when it became apparent that his administration, despite defeats and mistakes, was leading the North to ultimate victory and that the Democracy was possibly a treasonable party, there was no question as to the final outcome.

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Taylor's American Voyage

1768-1769

When George Taylor went to Whitehaven in April, 1768, and heard an old sea-captain descant on the fine life beyond the seas, he made up his mind. He would go too. "In these critical times," he thought, "an Englishman might have a fine opportunity of settling to far greater advantage than at home." So he made inquiries for a passage; discovered that Ireland was a good jumping ground, and crossed the sea to Dublin. There he found a skipper called William Benton, master of the *Julian*, who was about to set sail with a cargo of fifty indentured servants.

The *Julian* was a 'kids-ship', no better and no worse than others which plied the trade. The indentured servants on some of these hulls were often not indentured at all, but kidnapped to satisfy the hungry labour market of the pioneer communities across the Atlantic. Twenty of the fifty indentured servants aboard the *Julian* were under a master, for they were no easy cargo to carry, being women of the streets, whose pilgrimage was a penance for past follies. Four days out of port, and Captain Benton ordered them to be secluded behind a bulkhead specially built by the ship's carpenter. But for the sailors, the bulkhead was no baulk. Not long after it was put up, a storm blew up, and all hands were piped on deck to pump ship. Bosun and Captain called in vain, and on investigation, the sailors were found in the ladies' quarters. The Captain went down with a rope end and laid about him. Taylor said: "he laid profusely upon the ladies, and drove them on deck; some with only a petticoat on, others more naked. He swore he would tie them all to the mainmast and wipe 'em down with a couple of dozens."

Taylor's only companion passenger was the dissolute son of a young Irish clergyman, who had been bought a commission in the British Army of North America. The two of them carried some provisions of their own, but for the crew and the fifty indentured servants, the normal ship's provisions served. And these provisions were extremely inadequate, especially as the storm washed away three coops of fowls, and a large pot of oatmeal mixture, which the crew called 'Burgoo' and ate for breakfast. So it is not surprising that when they had been only thirty-two days at sea, a rationing system was instituted. By contemporary standards it was generous:

each individual was allowed two pounds of bread, four pounds of meat and six quarts of water per week.

Worse was to come. That scale only lasted for seven days, and was immediately halved. As rations fell, tempers rose. "Some cursed their fate in coming as servants, others swore that the captain ought to be hanged at the yardarm for not bringing more provisions, or for keeping so many good things for himself," Taylor wrote. They began to hail other vessels, and once chased a sail for six hours, but to no avail. "They probably thought the *Julian* was a pirate," remarked Taylor ruefully.

So life grew more and more dismal, as the weather grew warmer and warmer. By June 24, 1768, they had been at sea for forty-six days, and the indentured servants could stand it no longer. In a body they assembled outside the captain's cabin, demanding to see what rations were available. They soon saw. For only by giving a daily ration of half a biscuit, and half a pint of stinking water, supplemented by two ounces of flesh a week, could the meagre stock be extended to cover three weeks.

Those three weeks saw the tension mount still higher. Before half of the days had passed, everyone was in a frightful state. Prolonged drinking of sea water drove many to near insanity. They rolled about the deck, tried to jump overboard, asked others to throw them into the sea, and cursed their unhappy lot. Not so Taylor. He lived insulated from discomfort with a bottle of claret under his pillows and another in his hammock. "I could now and then refresh unseen," he wrote. "I had a little sweet biscuit secreted between the lining of my waistcoat." Still he was as keen as the next man to find food. Looking over the side of the ship on July 4 he saw a shark, and called the captain. The captain, quick to respond, ordered two pounds of stinking beef to be baited to a hook and cast over the ship's side. However the meat was too bad even for the shark, which smelled it several times, but left it. "Had he been as hungry as we, he would have taken it without smelling," wrote Taylor bitterly. Nevertheless they played the line for an hour, Taylor holding it. Suddenly the shark took the bait. The line, which was attached to the mast, jerked taut, and nearly knocked Taylor overboard. As he slipped and lost his balance, his wallet fell into the sea, and all his money too. A sailor, hearing him cry out, jumped overboard, narrowly missed being mauled by a second shark, and recovered it.

But the rations, even when supplemented by shark, did not

last the three weeks. On July 15, their sixty-third day at sea, the captain was at his wits end and succumbed to the dreadful temptation. He gave orders that lots were to be cast as to who was to die. It fell upon a young girl called Ann Connor. When killed, she was found to be pregnant. Taylor could not bear it, and sent the cabin boy to decline his share. Three days later, a child was born to another woman, and the half crazed father came in great trouble to Taylor, who, after swearing him to secrecy, gave him half a bottle of claret, a pound of oatmeal biscuit, half a nutmeg, and some cinnamon. A second act of cannibalism followed five days later. Lots were cast, but just as they were about to draw, a sail was sighted.

This time, the sail did not turn and run. It proved to be a West-Indiaman, homeward bound. The captain gave the unhappy *Julian* three barrels of meat, some bread, a live pig, six geese, four ducks, four chickens and two puncheons of water, plus sixty gallons of rum. Taylor and the owner of the servants were the deputed negotiators, since William Benton dare'nt leave his ship. Taylor refused all offers of a return passage to England, and instead took away with him a box of sugar, two dozen sweet oranges, two pineapples, six cocoanuts, and a hundred limes. This windfall enabled them to restore a daily ration of half a biscuit, half a pint of water, a glass of rum and four ounces of flesh.

There followed another three weeks of mounting anxiety, varied only by the temporary alleviation of their miseries when they sighted a ship on the eighty-seventh day. But by August 25, it was once more found necessary to hold the grisly ballot, which this time fell upon a coachman who had become an indentured servant. The crew would have killed the captain, only his skill in navigating the ship stood between them and certain disaster. A plot was actually hatched, but the captain discovered it, and put the ringleaders in irons.

All were saved when they saw a fishing vessel, which told them they were near Nantucket. Taylor disembarked, and took up lodgings at the inn where Governor Barnard's representative was being so coldly received. This man left soon afterwards, and Taylor followed him.

* * * *

Taylor did not linger on the eastern seaboard for long. By way of Plymouth, Providence, and New Haven, he made his way to New York, where, with the contents of the wallet so bravely rescued

for him by the sailor in mid-Atlantic, he purchased a quantity of goods: blankets, rum, powder, ball, and women's trinkets. All were loaded up for the great trek to Montreal to catch the Indians at their great fair.

With five other Englishmen and two Indian interpreters, he set off on September 25. In the first two days they covered half of the four hundred and thirty-five mile journey, yet Taylor had time to notice the habit of collecting maple syrup from the trees, and, being a Sheffield man, to notice the peculiar axes required to do it. He also commented on the furs.

They reached Montreal after an eight day journey to find the town full of traders, some of whom had come over a thousand miles. Taylor noticed the discipline of the market, and commented on the Indians who, he wrote: "sit down on the ground in the streets in circular form, men, women, and children. They have rum in a keg, the bung of which they set to their mouths, and they do not set it down till it is empty." For a rum trader, he was curiously critical. Rum drinking, he commented "brings out a temporary madness, and as long as it continues, they are guilty of the most enormous excesses."

His greatest asset was his English nationality. Had he been Irish, he wrote, trade would have been impossible. "If an Englishman happens to affront an Indian at these times, the Indians call him an Irish rogue, imagining nothing can be so bad. He described Montreal as it existed in 1769: "the streets wide and commodious" but "the batteries of the citadel command them from one end to another." He stayed there till October 10, when he picked up a boat to take him down the St. Lawrence, while his four partners went back overland to Philadelphia, where he had arranged to meet them.

* * * *

Taylor had formed no favourable view of Canada. "The inns in this part of the country," he wrote, "charge you extravagantly and entertain you meanly." He travelled down to Quebec, where after a five days stay, he came to the conclusion that the cathedral was "large but clumsy, and makes a mean appearance." There he met with a Philadelphia trading ship that had brought a cargo of flour and rum to trade on the St. Lawrence, but finding such trade poor, was returning, hoping to dispose of the cargo on the way.

Taylor boarded it with his own cargo purchased at the Montreal fair. He went ashore both at St. Johns, and at Halifax, Nova Scotia,

where the captain managed to sell all his flour and rum. Ten days in Boston followed, and on November 26 he arrived in Philadelphia, five days after his partners.

He was enraptured with the place. "For its beauty and flourishing state it is not to be exceeded," he wrote, adding:

It is surprising to a stranger to see such a prodigious diversity of religions, nations and languages. In the city of Philadelphia you see Churchmen, Quakers, Lutherans, Calvinists, Moravians, Catholics, Menists, Methodists, Anabaptists, Independents and Dumpsters. These latter are a people that first came from Germany; they wear long beards, and a habit resembling friars.

He was much impressed by the predominance of other nations, and exclaimed: "How wonderful it is to observe the various sentiments of these people, who yet live in perfect union and tranquillity with one another." The trees, the pumps, the public buildings, the race course, the governor's house and other public buildings called forth his highest praise spread over ten pages of his diary. But, to a shrewd trader like himself, it was the market place which seemed to top them all:

Here is the finest market, perhaps in the whole universe; it is built of brick, supported by pillars of the same, extending a vast length, plentifully stacked with all kinds of provisions, both of flesh and vegetables [*sic*] with every other commodity. . . .

No game acts, nor Lords o' the manor here, but freedom reigns. The inhabitant enjoys the fruits of his labours in a plentiful manner without place-men, bribery, or corruption.

As he watched the Dutch wagon trains roll in to the number of 7,000 a week, bringing with them corn and pork and skins, and taking out products of Europe in the form of rum, sugar and molasses, he was brought to conclude: "This province is in a more growing condition than any other in British North America."

* * * *

Something of this trading spirit seems to have infected him, for after a three weeks stay in Philadelphia, he embarked for a trip into the interior himself. As usual, he chose to travel by sea, sailing via New Orleans and going up the Mississippi in a canoe—called by him a battoe—rowed by a number of hands. By January 19, 1769, he was at Illinois, much impressed by its potentialities:

What a pity it is he wrote that such a fine part of His Majesty's territory, is not inhabited by more of his subjects. . . . It only wants inhabitants to make this part of America the most fruitful and wealthy for trade and commerce; and it could not be excelled by any in this quarter of the world.

As he travelled in the country of the Illinois, he would present each savage with a glass of rum, then retire to their wigwams to trade. In this manner he covered the territory and that of the Cherokee and Choctaw, and ultimately arrived at Pensacola, whence, via Charlestown and Annapolis, he returned to Philadelphia on February 25.

Here he stayed. Philadelphia's bustle and promise agreed with him, and for four months he was so engrossed that his diary is empty. It is tempting to imagine the contacts he was making and the views he was forming, even though he did not settle, since the climate seemed to disagree with him. After medical advice he decided to return home, and so on June 29 he travelled overland to New York, there to board the *Countess of Donegall* for the voyage back to England.

His diary was published in 1771 at Nottingham by S. Creswell under the title: *A Voyage to North America, Performed by G. Taylor, of Sheffield, in the Years 1768 and 1769; with an Account of his Tedious Passage . . . Manner of Trading with the Indians . . . his Setting Sail from Philadelphia to New Orleans . . . and Other Matters Worthy of Notice. . . .* The copy I have used was in the possession of Thomas Pearson, a Sheffield bookseller, who bought it in 1783. Taylor himself seems to have vanished into the comfortable limbo of obscurity on his return, and the only person discoverable bearing the name nine years later was a hosier of Snig Hill, and nineteen years later, a shoemaker in Sheffield. Yet Taylor's book, macabre as it was in detail, is the harbinger of an interest in America which was to become intense as the century closed. It is one of the first trade feelers from Sheffield, which by the next century was to grow into a golden bough of trade, bearing fruits to stimulate the industry of Sheffield to yet further exertions.*

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England

* Near Sheffield was the house of the Marquis of Rockingham (1730-1782) who was premier of a coalition ministry in 1765, and mortified George III by repealing the Stamp Act. Dismissed from office in 1766, he became leader of the whig opposition in the House of Lords, and a supporter of proposals to grant independence to the American colonies. Other Sheffielders who found a permanent home in America at the turn of this century were Joseph Gales and Robert Sutcliffe, for whom see *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVIII, 1951, 332-361; and *Pennsylvania History*, XVII, 192-205.

The Jesuits in Kentucky

1831-1846

When the Society of Jesus was restored to its pre-suppression status as a religious order by Pope Pius VII in 1814, there were a score of Jesuits in the United States. These men, like other Jesuits scattered over Europe and Russia, had been working as missionaries and teachers with unofficial papal consent, some even from the time of the suppression of the order in 1773. The superior of the Jesuits in America was John Anthony Grassi. Among the prelates who sought their services was Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown, who in 1815 appealed to Father Grassi for a group of Jesuits to work in Kentucky.¹ Owing to the scarcity of fathers in the post-Napoleonic period of reorganization, nothing could be done about Flaget's request.

In 1823 some of the Jesuits from Maryland established a mission in Missouri, and by 1829 founded St. Louis College in St. Louis. In 1828, Flaget began a continued campaign to secure Jesuits for his diocese, sending appeals to all possible quarters, and offering the Jesuits his College of St. Joseph's in Bardstown.² He received encouragement only from the Jesuit Provincial of France, Julian Druilhet, who wrote that he was forwarding the appeal, with his own approbation, to the Jesuit General in Rome.³ As the months passed without further word from France, the bishop put aside his

¹ Thomas J. Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, 4 volumes, New York, 1907-1917, Documents, Vol. I, Part II, 982.

² Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (hereinafter ARSI), "Notice sur l'établissement des PP Jesuites à Ste. Marie près de Bardstown dans le Kentucky, depuis son origine en 1832 jusqu'au mois d'août 1838." Unless otherwise cited, the letters used in the preparation of this paper are from the Archivum Romanum. Flaget wrote to Grassi, according to the above "Notice"; to Anthony Kohlmann, another former superior who like Grassi was in Italy; to Father John McElroy, S.J., for which see Bishop Flaget to McElroy, February 3, 1830, in the Woodstock Archives (hereinafter WA); to Father Francis Dzierosynski, S.J., superior of the Jesuits in Maryland, Dzierosynski to John Roothaan, S.J., May 9, 1830, Peter Dubuisson, S.J., to Roothaan, May 21, 1830. Flaget also wrote to get English Jesuits, WA, Flaget to McElroy, Feb. 3, 1830; and twice wrote to the Irish Jesuit Peter Kenney, who had been Visitor and superior of the American Jesuits, for which see Flaget to Kenney, Feb. 14, 1831 and Oct. 10, 1831, in the Archives of the Irish Province of the Society of Jesus (hereinafter AIP).

³ WA, Flaget to McElroy, Feb. 3, 1830.

cherished dream of Jesuit teachers at St. Joseph's and made arrangements to continue the school under the direction of his diocesan priests.⁴ Suddenly Flaget received a letter from New Orleans, informing him that a group of French Jesuits was there en route to Kentucky.⁵

The anti-clerical government of France had banned the Jesuits from the classroom in 1828 and the July revolution of 1830 expelled the Society of Jesus from France itself.⁶ Four of the exiles were instructed by the French Provincial to proceed to Kentucky. With Father Peter Chazelle as superior, Father Peter Ladavière, Father Nicholas Petit and Brother Philip Corne left Bordeaux on November 19, 1830, and disembarked at New Orleans on February 7, 1831.⁷

In those days, mid-winter was scarcely the time to travel up the Mississippi Valley. Bishop de Neckere of New Orleans consequently had little trouble in persuading the four Jesuits to remain in his diocese till the spring thaw. Chazelle passed the winter by giving retreats, Ladavière took over a priestless parish, and Petit preached the Lenten sermons in the Cathedral of New Orleans.⁸ Bishop de Neckere improved the time by trying to persuade the little band to remain in his diocese; like Flaget, he offered them a college. When the navigation of the Mississippi reopened, two of the Jesuits did remain with the Bishop of New Orleans, not because his proposals were too good to let slip, but because of the news from Bardstown. The Jesuits learned that while Flaget was still anxious to transfer St. Joseph's College to the Society of Jesus, the transaction could not be completed for several years to come. And they heard reports about the college which made them curious enough to look this gift horse very closely in the mouth. Consequently Chazelle left Ladavière and Corne in Louisiana to have, if necessary, a base on which to fall back.⁹ Accompanied only by Petit, he boarded a river steamer at New Orleans on April 23, 1831, and reached Bardstown on May 14.¹⁰

⁴ Francis P. Cassidy, *Catholic College Foundations in the United States*, Washington, D. C., 1924, 26-28.

⁵ Flaget to Druilhet, June 28, 1831.

⁶ Joseph Burnichon, *Histoire d'un Siècle*, 4 volumes, Paris, 1914-1922, I, 377 ff., and 528 ff.

⁷ Peter Chazelle, S.J., to Roothaan, July 30, 1831; ARSI, "Historia Collegii Kentuckiensis ad Stam. Mariam, 1928-jul. 1838." John Roothaan was General of the Society of Jesus during the entire period covered in this article.

⁸ ARSI, "Notice."

⁹ Chazelle to Roothaan, July 30, 1831.

¹⁰ Chazelle to Druilhet, June 17, 1831.

Flaget was unaffectedly glad to see the Jesuits in his diocese, but Chazelle was not happy to receive confirmation of the reports which he had heard about conditions in Bardstown. Some of the clergy were strongly opposed to the entrance of the Society of Jesus into Kentucky.¹¹ While Chazelle was pleased to receive a note of welcome from the reverend president of St. Joseph's, he was disturbed to note that the letter-writer had no idea of the purpose of the Jesuit coming. Nor was the superior happy about the news that he would have to wait some two years before the bishop would be in a position to give St. Joseph's College to the Jesuits.¹² When he inspected the school, he wondered whether it was worth waiting for. Its prospects were poor; its debts were bad; its discipline was worse.¹³ The reports which Chazelle sent to Europe were anything but favorable, and both the General and the French Provincial came to the conclusion that it would be pointless to leave the Jesuit missionary group in Kentucky.¹⁴ While waiting for a decision from Europe which was, as he expected, an order to return to Louisiana, Chazelle remained in Bardstown.¹⁵

However, before Chazelle received the letter containing his instructions to depart, another letter, which put an entirely different complexion on matters, was received by Bishop Flaget.¹⁶ It was written by a priest of the diocese of Bardstown, William Byrne. Byrne had been, for a short time, a Jesuit novice at Georgetown, but had withdrawn with none too favorable impressions of the Society. He opposed Jesuit control of St. Joseph's College, since he believed that if the Society took over and restored that school, it might very well hurt the registration of his own school. For Byrne was the owner, president and most of the faculty of St. Mary's Seminary, a boarding school which he had established a dozen years before on a farm about twenty miles from Bardstown.¹⁷ Towards the end of July 1831, however, Byrne wrote to Flaget, offering to turn over the school to him so that he could transfer it to the Society of Jesus.

¹¹ ARSI, "Notice."

¹² Flaget to Druilhet, June 28, 1831.

¹³ Chazelle to Roothaan, Aug. 24, 1831.

¹⁴ Druilhet to Roothaan, Nov. 12, Dec. 4, Dec. 9, 1831.

¹⁵ Fordham University Archives (hereinafter FA), "Diary of St. Mary's," Sept. 21, 1831.

¹⁶ ARSI, "Notice," "Historia Collegii." FA, "Diary," Sept. 21, 1831.

¹⁷ See Cassidy, *Catholic College Foundations*, 28-30, and Alphonsus Lesoucky, "Centenary of St. Mary's College," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, IV (1922), 154-171.

Chazelle and Petit made an inspection of St. Mary's. What they saw pleased them. The school, possessing a half-section of land, had two rather substantial brick buildings, one still under construction.¹⁸ Most of the supplies for the seminary table came from the school farm and the school herds.¹⁹ The pupils themselves supplied much of the labor on the farm, for the seminary followed the manual labor pattern common at the time. The teachers and the pupils were expected to contribute one day each week to farm work, a practice that the Jesuits continued for a time. Byrne's school was rather popular; his pupils, who averaged about fourteen years of age, numbered between fifty and seventy-five.²⁰

Chazelle sent the news of this unexpected development off to the Jesuit superiors in Europe.²¹ When instructions came to leave Kentucky, he delayed his departure until superiors could reconsider their decision on the basis of this new offer. He took up residence with Father Byrne at St. Mary's, where he spent the time studying English and teaching French.²² Petit established a base in Bardstown, where, between apostolic journeys through Kentucky and Indiana, he was to assist the local priests.²³ During the subsequent months, Chazelle sent to Europe a number of letters which manifested an increasing desire that the Jesuits forget about St. Joseph's College and accept the proffered gift of St. Mary's Seminary.²⁴ His wishes were finally fulfilled when, on July 7, 1832, the Jesuit General signed the letter authorizing him to take possession of St. Mary's.²⁵

When the decision to remain in Kentucky had been made, the Provincial of France assembled reinforcements for the new mission from his widely scattered flock. Three priests of the Province of Gaul—Vitalis Gilles in Switzerland, Thomas Legouais in Spain and Eugene Maguire in Italy—received their orders to go to Kentucky.²⁶ They arrived at St. Mary's just in time to help Chazelle celebrate

¹⁸ Chazelle was to increase the holdings to 550 acres. Chazelle to Roothaan, Jan. 26, 1835. Before the Jesuits left, they had added another four or five buildings. William H. Hill, "Reminiscences of St. Mary's College," *Woodstock Letters*, XX (1891), 30, 33.

¹⁹ Petit to Druilhet, Sept. 19, 1831, gives a full description of the school, down to the 18 cows, the 60 pigs and the 30 sheep.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, says there were fifty; Chazelle to Druilhet, Aug. 24, 1831, says there were seventy-five.

²¹ Chazelle to Roothaan, Aug. 24, 1831.

²² FA, "Diary," Sept. 21, 1831; Chazelle to Roothaan, Jan. 26, 1832.

²³ Chazelle to Roothaan, Jan. 29, 1833. Petit did not join the Jesuit community at St. Mary's till May 17, 1834; ARSI, "Historia."

²⁴ Druilhet to Roothaan, June 11, 1832, quotes from letters he received from Chazelle dated Jan. 26, Feb. 4, Feb. 25, and May 5, 1832.

²⁵ Roothaan to Chazelle, July 7, 1832.

²⁶ Maguire to Roothaan, Aug. 22, 1832.

the Christmas of 1832.²⁷ Before their coming the two Jesuits in Kentucky had received reinforcements from the ranks of the secular clergy of Bardstown. Two priests of French birth, Simon Fouchè and Evremond Harissart, had applied to Chazelle, a few months after his entry into the diocese, for admission into the Society of Jesus.²⁸ Both were accepted. Evremond was sent at once to the Jesuit novitiate at Georgetown. Since he had commitments as a teacher in the diocesan seminary which would prevent his entry for a year, Fouchè was unable to begin his noviceship till September, 1832, when he joined Chazelle at St. Mary's.²⁹ Only a few days before the arrival of the three priests from Europe, Evremond returned to St. Mary's to complete his noviceship there. Consequently, at the beginning of 1833, the Jesuit community at St. Mary's numbered six. On January 1, the regular order of time of a Jesuit community was inaugurated; on the following day, the members of the community received their teaching assignments in the seminary.³⁰ A new Jesuit school was formally in being.

With the new community lived Father William Byrne. He had judged that these French Jesuits, accustomed to the streets of Paris, would find it difficult to adapt themselves to the backwoods of Kentucky. He retained, then, the title of President of St. Mary's and remained to assist in the Jesuit's adjustment, to introduce them to the neighboring communities, to expound to them the mystery of the American boy, and to clear up the remaining debts of St. Mary's.³¹ Byrne planned to leave St. Mary's in the summer of 1833 to hew another St. Mary's out of the woods of Illinois.³² But he left the scene sooner than he had anticipated.

In the early summer of 1833 rumors of the approach of the dread Asiatic cholera were heard in Kentucky and were soon followed by the fearful plague itself. The priests at St. Mary's had their hands full attending to the sick and dying throughout the countryside. Byrne himself returned from a sick-call infected with the horrid disease and died within a few hours. Others at the seminary quickly caught the plague. Two of the pupils died of

²⁷ FA, "Diary," Dec. 22, 1832.

²⁸ Petit to Druilhet, Sept. 19, 1831.

²⁹ Chazelle to Roothaan, Jan. 29, 1833.

³⁰ FA, "Diary," Dec. 18, 1832, and Jan. 1-2, 1833.

³¹ Actually, Byrne did not liquidate the debts, which were paid off by the Jesuits. Chazelle to Roothaan, Jan. 26, 1835; Legouais to Roothaan, Jan. 27, 1836.

³² Druilhet to Roothaan, June 11, 1832.

it, and three priests took to their beds. Eugene Maguire left his bed only to be carried to a grave beside Byrne.³³

One of the consequences of Byrne's untimely death was that the title of St. Mary's Seminary was left in serious doubt. Byrne's affairs were in confusion. He had not turned over the title of the school, nor had he left a will.³⁴ Consequently a nephew of his instituted suit to get possession of the property.³⁵ For many months, Chazelle had to wait anxiously while the law pursued its slow course. Long after their benefactor's death, the Jesuits unexpectedly won their case, and the title of St. Mary's Seminary was legally vested in the Society of Jesus.³⁶

While young Byrne was pressing his law suit, Chazelle fortunately had no longer to contend with a dispute over jurisdiction within the Jesuit order. In the same month that Chazelle had sailed from Bordeaux, Peter Kenney had boarded ship for the United States, where he was, on the orders of the General, to fulfill the functions of Visitor and chief superior of the Jesuits in the United States. Kenney's instructions did not cover the situation arising from the planting of a new Jesuit colony in America. Fidelis de Grivel, a French Jesuit occupying the office of novice-master in the Jesuit mission of Maryland, wrote to advise Chazelle to clarify the status of the Kentucky Jesuits with Kenney. Chazelle did not think it necessary to heed the warning.³⁷ He may have regretted his negligence when he received a letter in which Kenney claimed jurisdiction over the Jesuits in Kentucky. This question of jurisdiction was only of domestic importance, but a great deal of ink was spread over a large quantity of paper, and the Provincial of France and the General in Rome had to be called in, before this irritating question was solved. It was established that the French Jesuits did not come under the rule of Kenney. Authority over the Kentucky Mission belonged to the Provincial of France.³⁸

³³ FA, "Diary," June 5-10, 1833.

³⁴ Legouais to Druilhet, July 22, 1833; Chazelle to Roothaan, Aug. 26, 1833.

³⁵ FA, "Diary," July 23, 1833; Chazelle to Roothaan, Aug. 24, 1834.

³⁶ Chazelle to Roothaan, Nov. 24, 1836, and Dec. 8, 1836.

³⁷ Grivel to Roothaan, Aug. 13, 1831, April 30, 1834.

³⁸ Kenney to Chazelle, Sept. 25, 1831, and April 20, 1832; Chazelle to Roothaan, May 29, 1832; Druilhet to Roothaan, June 11, 1832; Druilhet to Chazelle, May 21, 1832; Legouais to Druilhet, July 22, 1833; Chazelle to Roothaan, Feb. 24, 1834. In WA, Roothaan to Kenney, Dec. 20, 1831. In AIP, Kenney to Chazelle, Jan. 10, April 28, 1832; "Notes from letters of Father Chazelle," July 9, 1832.

Later, it was suggested that the Kentucky Mission be transferred to the immediate jurisdiction of the General, who rejected the proposal.

With the reopening of school in September 1833, St. Mary's Seminary was for the first time under full Jesuit control. In addition to his office as superior of the Jesuit mission in Kentucky, Chazelle now assumed the title and the functions of the rector of St. Mary's.

In preparation for autumn term advertisements were inserted in the Kentucky newspapers. These notices informed the public that the subjects taught included:

Latin, Greek, French, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Surveying, Bookkeeping, Geography with the use of the Globes, and all the common branches of education. To these, at the request of students, are added for next year—1st, Rhetoric, properly so termed; this being generally considered the completion of all studies; 2ndly, Hebrew; 3rdly, Spanish.

TERMS.

1st. For those who study the high branches during a session, which will consist of five and a half months, Board, Tuition, Washing, &c., (Bed and bedding excepted) in advance—\$32.00

2ndly. For those who do not study the high branches, also in advance—\$30.00.

3rdly. For day scholars or externs a session, from 6 to 12 dollars, according to the number and nature of the classes they attend. This likewise payable in advance.³⁹

St. Mary's Seminary would seem to have had a curriculum similar to most secondary schools of the time. Though "Rhetoric, properly so termed," was later added to the curriculum, there is no evidence that Hebrew was ever taught at St. Mary's. The fees charged were quite moderate. When St. Mary's became a college and the weekly work-day was abolished, the charges for board, tuition and washing, without bedding, were raised, first to ninety and then to a hundred dollars a year.⁴⁰

Francis Renault, S.J., to Roothaan, Feb. 3, 1835; Legouais to Roothaan, Jan. 27, 1837. Renault succeeded Druilhet as Provincial of France.

It was also proposed that the Kentucky Mission be joined to the Missouri Province. This actually was done with the French Jesuit mission in Louisiana. WA, William Murphy, S.J., to Dzierosynski, Sept. 12, 1840; Murphy to James Ryder, S.J., June 10, 1844. Murphy replaced Chazelle as superior of the Kentucky Mission in 1840. Ryder was Provincial of Maryland.

Another proposal was that, using the French Jesuits in Kentucky as the base, an independent Franco-American Province be created. August Thébaud, S.J., to Clement Boulanger, S.J., July 21, 1843; Murphy to Roothaan, July 10, Nov. 4, 1843, Feb. 27, 1844. Thébaud joined the Kentucky Mission in 1839. Boulanger was Provincial of France.

³⁹ ARSI, clipping dated Aug. 17, 1833, most probably from a Bardstown paper.

⁴⁰ FA, "Diary," June 21, 1836. FA, "Minutes of the Board of Trustees of St. Mary's College," July 10, 1837. Chazelle to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1838.

In recruiting students, the Jesuits did not confine their efforts to Kentucky. Advertisements were placed in the New Orleans papers, and even in the journals in Mexico City and Havana.⁴¹ These advertisements met with some measure of success. The college diary not infrequently notes that some student whom it had occasion to mention, came from Mississippi, Louisiana, or another Southern State. One day, it notes the entry into the college of a Spaniard, a Mexican, and a Cuban; another day, it remarks the arrival from Mexico of three new students.

Indeed, during their first years at St. Mary's, the Jesuits must have been consoled by the continued increase in registration. In February, 1834, there were at the seminary but a dozen day students and forty-five boarders. A year later, the school registers carried the names of twelve day-students and sixty-four boarders. Another year later, these numbers had increased respectively to twenty and eighty. Before the end of 1836, Chazelle could inform Roothaan that the number of boarding students had reached one hundred.⁴²

At the first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the newly incorporated St. Mary's College, the trustees found that the college had one hundred boarders.⁴³ In 1838, the total registration was one hundred twenty-seven, with one hundred two boarding students. This number, according to Chazelle made St. Mary's the largest college in Kentucky. In 1839, the registration was about the same—one hundred twenty-four students were on the roll.⁴⁴ In 1840, the school had the greatest number of pupils in its history as a Jesuit institution, one hundred forty-three, of which number one hundred twenty-five were boarders.⁴⁵

Thereafter the registration of the school went into a decline. The Jesuits at St. Mary's attributed the falling off to the continued effects of the panic of 1837, and to the competition of new schools and colleges in the Mid-West. The registration figures for all the years of the 1840's are not available. In 1841 there were but ninety pupils at the college.⁴⁶ The same number is given for the following

⁴¹ FA, "Diary," March 1, 1834, June 10 and June 17, 1835. WA, Murphy to Dzierosynski, Oct. 14, 1840, notes that the college had an agent in Cuba.

⁴² Chazelle to Roothaan, Feb. 24, 1834, Jan. 26, 1835, Nov. 24, 1836; Legouais to Roothaan, Jan. 27, 1836.

⁴³ FA, "Minutes," Jan. 27, 1837.

⁴⁴ Chazelle to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1838, and June 23, 1839.

⁴⁵ Murphy to Roothaan, June 19, 1840.

⁴⁶ FA, "Diary," June 1, 1840, Feb. 12, 1841.

year.⁴⁷ In 1846, the year the Jesuits relinquished the school, there were but two or three day pupils and seventy-five boarders.⁴⁸

A large proportion of the students at St. Mary's was not of the Catholic faith. There were occasional conversions, a fact that stirred up local Protestant ire. To avoid difficulties and the charge of proselytizing, the college authorities enacted a regulation prohibiting the baptism of any student, unless he had received the consent of his parents or was of full legal age.⁴⁹

In 1839, a new type of pupil entered St. Mary's. Besides its major seminary at Bardstown, the diocese had a minor seminary, named in honor of St. Thomas, a few miles outside the cathedral town. In August, 1839, Bishop Flaget closed this minor seminary. The Jesuits agreed to undertake the education of the pupils of St. Thomas Seminary and the diocese agreed to pay St. Mary's one hundred dollars a year for each of the young men. Consequently, towards the end of August, eight seminarians appeared at the doors of St. Mary's. The arrangement worked well. Indeed, when in 1841 the Jesuits planned a course in theology at St. Mary's for their few scholastics, the Fathers and the diocesan authorities agreed that the seminarians would also attend the lectures. Classes did in fact begin on September 10, 1841, with three Jesuit scholastics and four seminarians in attendance.⁵⁰

There had been reports that some of the secular clergy did not like the arrangement.⁵¹ Still the Jesuits must have been a bit put out when they read the letter addressed to them, eleven days after classes had begun, by Bishop Guy Chabrat, coadjutor of Bishop Flaget.⁵² Chabrat ordered his seminarians to leave St. Mary's immediately. The reason the coadjutor gave for this sudden action was that the diocese could not afford the fees charged by St. Mary's. How it would be cheaper to open and staff a seminary, possibly the bishop knew. At any event, the seminarians left the college.

⁴⁷ Legouais to Roothaan, March 6, 1842.

⁴⁸ John Baptist Hus, S.J., to Roothaan, Feb. 8, 1846. Hus had come to Kentucky from France in 1845.

⁴⁹ ARSI, "Notice." Georgetown University has in its archives a brief manuscript history of Fordham University by Thomas Campbell, S.J., who declares that, during the Jesuit period of St. Mary's, 675 pupils, of whom 361 were non-Catholics, attended the school. Unfortunately Campbell does not supply any references.

⁵⁰ Murphy to Roothaan, Sept. 21, 1839, June 19, 1840, and Oct. 10, 1840; FA, "Diary," Aug. 25, 1839, and Sept. 10, 1841.

⁵¹ Peter Lebreton, S.J., to Roothaan, June 21, 1841. Lebreton had come to St. Mary's from France in 1839.

⁵² FA, "Diary," Sept. 21, 1841; ARSI, Legouais to Roothaan, Jan. 3, 1843.

It was not to be expected that a handful of Jesuits could, besides their other works, staff fully the college and preparatory school at St. Mary's. In 1833-1834, a secular priest assisted them in the work of the classrooms. Throughout their years at St. Mary's, the Jesuits used the device of student-teachers. A number of the college students taught classes of the younger boys in exchange for their board and tuition. These student-teachers usually numbered seven or eight each year.⁵³

The number of Jesuits in Kentucky was never very large. Chazelle and Petit, it has been noted, were joined by two secular priests and three Jesuits from Europe in 1832. But the next group of reinforcements from France did not arrive till January, 1836.⁵⁴ Of this group, two brothers, Michael Jarry and Philip Ledorè, and one of the two priests, William Stack Murphy, remained in Kentucky. The fourth member of the group, Nicholas Point, was soon transferred to Louisiana, there to become the superior of a new Jesuit college.⁵⁵ The Province of France was to send other groups of Jesuits to North America, but these were slated to go either to Louisiana or to Canada, where in 1842 under the leadership of Peter Chazelle a new Jesuit mission was begun. Only one more group was to be assigned to Kentucky. In 1839, there arrived at St. Mary's two brothers, James Séné and Philip Constance, and two priests, August Thébaud and Peter Lebreton.⁵⁶

A number of recruits entered the Society of Jesus in Kentucky. In the early years, the new members were few. Apart from Fouché and Evremond and a lay brother who did not complete his noviceship, the catalogs of the Province of France list no novices in Kentucky. Beginning in 1839, at least one novice a year was admitted. The catalogs show that during their fifteen years in Kentucky the Jesuits accepted twenty novices, of whom six were priests, eight brothers, and six scholastics.⁵⁷ Of these, one priest and four brothers withdrew before the completion of their noviceship; fifteen took the vows of the order. Unhappily these records are not satisfactory

⁵³ FA, "Diary," Aug. 6, 1833, Oct. 5, 1834; ARSI, "Notice," "Historia domus, 1835-1836." See also *Catalogus Provinciae Franciae*, 1839, 21; 1840, 22; 1841, 24; 1842, 25.

⁵⁴ FA, "Diary," Jan. 12, 1836. Point to ? , Jan. 20, 1836.

⁵⁵ Chazelle to Roothaan, Dec. 15, 1836. For the story of this college, see Gilbert J. Garraghan, *Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 3 volumes, New York, 1938, III, 134 ff.

⁵⁶ FA, "Diary," Jan. 15, 1839.

⁵⁷ *Catalogus Provinciae Galliae*, 1831-1836; *Catalogus Provinciae Franciae*, 1837-1846. Other novices may have been admitted, but none remained long enough to be listed in the catalogs.

either as regards the numbers or the nationality of the novices. The Society of Jesus could not be considered naturalized in America until it had tapped an adequate source of native vocations. Kentucky did not provide enough vocations; indeed, it supplied practically none. Almost without exception, the novices were French or Irish; only one of the twenty novices was a native Kentuckian.⁵⁸ The Fathers believed that the failure of native Americans to become Jesuits was due to the major fault they noted among Americans, an excessive love of money.⁵⁹

With the passing of the years, the Jesuit faculty at St. Mary's Seminary added new courses of a higher grade to the school's curriculum. Finally, in the summer of 1836, they took the step of publishing a prospectus for the coming year which elevated the school to the rank of a college.⁶⁰ Though St. Mary's claimed the name, it was a college without a charter. The Jesuits had considered the feasibility of applying to the Kentucky authorities for incorporation. Nativist agitation in the state, however, was quite active. In Bardstown itself, a Presbyterian minister was publishing an anti-Catholic sheet which did not neglect the Jesuits at St. Mary's. Besides attacks on the school and its faculty, the journal reprinted that hoary old canard, the *Monita Secreta*.⁶¹ Consequently the fathers at St. Mary's deemed it prudent to put off their application for a charter to a more propitious day.⁶²

However, Marion County, in which St. Mary's was located, had as its representative in the State Legislature at Frankfort an Irishman named John Finn, who had no time for trivialities such as anti-Catholic bigots. Unknown to the Jesuits, he introduced a bill to charter the school as a university, and guided his project past parliamentary pitfalls till it was ready for its final reading. Only then did he notify the faculty of St. Mary's of what he had done, since he needed a representative of the Jesuits at the State capital.⁶³ That Finn had gauged the anti-Catholic sentiment of the times more accurately than the Jesuits is shown by the fact that the act of incorporation was passed unanimously by the lower house and with but one dissenting vote in the upper house. It was signed by the Governor of Kentucky on January 21, 1837. When the newly chartered

⁵⁸ Boulanger to Roothaan, May 24, 1846.

⁵⁹ ARSI, "Litterae Annuae," 1840-1841; Chazelle to Roothaan, Dec. 8, 1836.

⁶⁰ FA, "Diary," June 21, 1836.

⁶¹ FA, "Diary," July 31, 1836; ARSI, "Notice."

⁶² Chazelle to Roothaan, March 10, 1837.

college later held its first commencement, it was but fitting that its first honorary degree of Master of Arts should be granted to John Finn.⁶⁴

At the time when its charter was granted, St. Mary's merited the status of a college. During the school year of 1835-1836, it had appointed its first professor of philosophy. In the following year, two courses of Scholastic philosophy were added.⁶⁵ A few weeks after the charter was signed, the trustees of the new college met and officially appointed professors of mental philosophy, natural philosophy, the "dead languages," English, French, Spanish, physics, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy, geography, and drawing. Courses in economics, botany, geology and minerology were later added.⁶⁶

The institution was organized in three departments. The old seminary course was continued under the title of the preparatory course. On the completion of these preliminary studies, the students could choose either the classical course, or the commercial course. The latter was also known as the English course.

The classical department was a college of liberal arts, with the standard four-year course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. It required courses in the ancient Latin and Greek classics and in Scholastic philosophy. The commercial department made no such demands. The course took but three years, and apparently did not lead to a degree. Anticipating Harvard's Eliot by a generation, it had an elective system. The students were not compelled to follow a set curriculum, "but each one is free to attend the courses he chooses."⁶⁷

What proportion of students was in each of the three departments it is impossible to determine. It would appear that the smallest department was that of the liberal arts. Chazelle notes that in 1838 there was but one beginners' class in Latin, with eighteen students.⁶⁸ The number of degrees granted—and only Arts degrees were given—indicates a small enrollment in the liberal arts. Two degrees of Bachelor of Arts were granted in course in 1838, four in 1839, five in 1841 and again four in 1842.⁶⁹

⁶³ *Ibid.*; FA, "Diary," Dec. 21-23, 1836.

⁶⁴ ARSI, "Notice." FA, "Diary," July 27, 1838.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1835, and June 21, 1836.

⁶⁶ FA, "Minutes," Feb. 2, 1837. ARSI, "Litterae Annuae," 1837-1838.

⁶⁷ ARSI, "Notice." ARSI, "Litterae Annuae," 1837-1838.

⁶⁸ Chazelle to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1838.

⁶⁹ FA, "Diary," July 27, 1838; July 20, 1839; July 20, 1841; July 19, 1842. No record of degrees granted in other years has been seen.

While St. Mary's continued to be the center of Jesuit activity in Kentucky, other priestly works were not neglected. The fathers at the college served the neighboring parish of St. Charles, and weekly one or more priests left St. Mary's to assist the clergy in the nearby parishes over the week-ends. In the first days of the Kentucky Mission, Petit, on his extensive travels, had made some contacts with the remnants of the Indian tribes in the Ohio Valley.⁷⁰ Yet the Kentucky Jesuits never undertook the evangelization of the redmen for the very good reason, as the superior of the mission explained to the Jesuit General, that the nearest Indians lived 400 miles from St. Mary's.⁷¹

Soon after their arrival in Kentucky, the Jesuits began to give parish missions in Bardstown. This work was expanded to cover the towns and cities of the dioceses of Vincennes, Nashville and Cincinnati. Retreats were given to communities of nuns and to the clergymen of the area, and St. Mary's gave hospitality to those priests who wished to make their retreats there.⁷²

As Jesuit priestly activity fanned out from St. Mary's, there came from all over the Mid-West requests for colonies of the Society of Jesus. As early as 1839, Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati was asking for members of the Kentucky Mission to staff a college in his see city. Bishop Loras of Dubuque entered a similar request in 1841. The Dominican Bishop Miles of Nashville made the same appeal in 1843. Bishop Chanche of Natchez put in a request for a group in 1844, as did Bishop Byrne of Little Rock, while similar invitations arrived, in 1845, from the bishops of Pittsburgh and Charleston.⁷³

Now the earliest and most persistent requests came from the diocese of Vincennes. Scarcely had Bishop Simon Bruté de Remur taken over the rule of that see in 1834 when he was writing to the

⁷⁰ ARSI, "Notice."

⁷¹ Murphy to Roothaan, Oct. 10, 1840.

⁷² Chazelle to Roothaan, Dec. 8, 1836, Jan. 26, 1835, Nov. 24, 1836; ARSI, "Retreats given" . . . April-Nov. 1841; Petit to Achille Guidée, S.J., June 29, 1841; Murphy to Roothaan, Jan. 10, 1842; Guidée was Provincial of France. Murphy to Roothaan, Jan. 10, 1842; Gilles to Roothaan, Nov. 8, 1842; Chazelle to Roothaan, Nov. 24, 1836; Legouais to Roothaan, July 17, 1836; Murphy to Roothaan, June 19, 1840.

⁷³ WA, Murphy to Dzierosynski, Sept. 12, Oct. 14, 1840; ARSI, Boulanger to Roothaan, April 10, 1846; Bishop Loras to Roothaan, April 24, 1841; Murphy to Roothaan, Nov. 4, 1843; Bishop Chanche to Murphy, Jan. 21, 1844; Murphy to Roothaan, Feb. 27, 1844; Murphy to Roothaan, Feb. 16, 1844; Boulanger to Roothaan, April 11, 1845; Murphy to Roothaan, Aug. 10, 1845.

Jesuit General, Roothaan, for some of his subjects.⁷⁴ When his request was not granted by the General, the bishop appealed to the Cardinal Prefect of the Roman Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith.⁷⁵ But even the "Red Pope" was not able to secure from the "Black Pope" men he did not have.

On his apostolic rounds, Petit frequently ventured into Bruté's diocese. The bishop welcomed him; indeed, he tried to capture him for the diocese of Vincennes, as an auxiliary bishop. Not only did he get Bishop Blanc of New Orleans to write in support of his project, but Bruté himself appealed to the General, to the Prefect of Propaganda and to the Pope himself. When he finally acknowledged that his campaign had failed, the irrepressible bishop appealed to the General to open a Jesuit college at South Bend, Indiana.⁷⁶

Bruté's successor, Clement de la Hailandière, at first followed in Bruté's footsteps. Soon after his accession in 1839 to the see of Vincennes, he was asking for a Jesuit college at Indianapolis. Not only did he send numerous appeals to the Jesuit superior in Kentucky, but he sent his vicar general to press the petitions in person.⁷⁷ When the college was refused, de la Hailandière also sought to get a Kentucky Jesuit—this time, John Larkin—as his auxiliary bishop.⁷⁸ When, however, a number of priests of his diocese attempted to abandon their parishes in order to become members of the Society, de la Hailandière's feelings towards the Jesuits underwent a radical change. Thereafter, he would have no Jesuits in his diocese.⁷⁹

In 1839, Chazelle unfolded to Bishop Flaget a plan to further the development of the Church in Kentucky and the Mid-West. The first element of Chazelle's plan was to transfer the seat of the Kentucky diocese from the little village of Bardstown to the flourishing city of Louisville. The second part of the plan was the establishment in Louisville of a regional seminary which would educate all the secular clergy of the Mid-West. The Jesuits, who

⁷⁴ Bishop Bruté to Roothaan, Dec. 13, 1834; Flaget to Kohlmann, Jan. 3, 1835.

⁷⁵ Cardinal Mai to Roothaan, June 15, 1835.

⁷⁶ Bishop Blanc to Roothaan, April ?, 1838; Bruté to Roothaan, Dec. 4, 1837, Feb. 24, 1838, May 28, 1839.

⁷⁷ Murphy to Roothaan, June 29, 1841, and Jan. 10, 1842.

⁷⁸ Gilles to Roothaan, Nov. 8, 1842. Larkin had left his position as professor in the seminary in Montreal to join the Society of Jesus in Kentucky in 1840.

⁷⁹ Murphy to Roothaan, July 9, 1844; James Van de Velde, S.J., to Roothaan, Dec. 8, 1845, March 16, 1846. Van de Velde, of the Missouri Province, was later bishop of Chicago and of Natchez.

were to staff the seminary, were also to open a college for lay students on the seminary campus.⁸⁰

Chazelle's idea found ready supporters. The Provincial of France instructed the Kentucky Jesuits to agree to staff the seminary.⁸¹ Bishop Flaget labored to bring the plan to fruition. He printed and sent to his friends in Europe a letter begging for funds to assist the proposed regional seminary.⁸² When the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore convened in May, 1840, Flaget, who had brought Chazelle along as his theologian, was present to propose the plan. Though the bishops of the Council approved the transfer of the see to Louisville, they failed to give their sanction to the regional seminary. Flaget and Chabrat, undiscouraged by the failure to secure the Council's approval, continued to push the plan for the seminary. Indeed, they insisted that Chazelle, who had been replaced in the summer of 1840 as superior of the Kentucky Mission and rector of St. Mary's by William Stack Murphy, should go to Europe to explain and defend the proposal in the proper quarters.⁸³

Chazelle consequently left Kentucky before the end of 1840, and was in Rome by April of the following year.⁸⁴ There he wrote and submitted to the Jesuit General, and probably to others, a "Note sur l'établissement de Louisville, Kentucky," and "Une Seminaire dans l'Ouest des Etats-Unis."⁸⁵

In spite of the efforts of Flaget and Chazelle, the plan for the seminary failed to gain adequate support. Possibly the Jesuit General and others were impressed by the fact that a number of the Kentucky Jesuits did not consider the proposal practicable.⁸⁶ By the beginning of 1842, Murphy could report that the plan for the regional seminary was a thing of the past.⁸⁷ Then the Kentucky bishops, frustrated in their desires for the seminary, demanded that the Jesuits at least open a college in Louisville. In anticipation of the establishment of the seminary, the bishops had secured property in a suburb of Louisville; this land was offered to the

⁸⁰ ARSI, "Note sur l'établissement de Louisville, Kentucky" and "Une Seminaire dans l'Ouest des Etats-Unis."

⁸¹ Guidée to Roothaan, Nov. 10, 1840.

⁸² ARSI contains a copy of this letter.

⁸³ Chazelle to Roothaan, July 3, 1840; Murphy to Roothaan, Dec. 22, 1840.

⁸⁴ Chazelle to Roothaan, March 21, 1842.

⁸⁵ Murphy to Roothaan, Dec. 22, 1840.

⁸⁶ These memoranda, in the ARSI, were written by Chazelle in Rome about April 1841.

⁸⁷ Murphy to Roothaan, June 19, Oct. 10, Dec. 22, 1840; Lebreton to Roothaan, June 21, 1841.

⁸⁸ Murphy to Roothaan, Jan. 10, 1842.

Jesuits as the site of their school, for the Jesuits were practically compelled to undertake a Louisville school.⁸⁸ The initiative of Chazelle had been seconded by the bishops. Now it would appear that the Jesuits were reniging. Chazelle himself was not sent back to Kentucky; instead, he was commissioned to establish a new Jesuit mission in Canada. Flaget consequently wrote several letters of complaint to Roothaan, lamenting that both the seminary and Chazelle had vanished, and the diocese had been left in the lurch and in debt. He continued to urge the opening of a Jesuit school in Louisville.⁸⁹

Chazelle wrote from Paris to the General to warn against such a step.⁹⁰ He pointed out that there were not sufficient funds to establish the school properly, and he questioned the wisdom of setting up a Jesuit house in the shadow of the troublesome coadjutor Chabrat. Chazelle's warning came too late. In the first month of 1842, the Jesuit superior in Kentucky agreed to undertake the conduct of the school.⁹¹

Since the suburban site offered by the bishops was not suitable for a day school, the land there was not accepted by the Jesuits. Instead, in April 1842, a house in Louisville proper was rented at a cost of two hundred dollars a year. Though the plan was to develop a boarding college, the school was announced to the public as a classical academy for boys between the ages of ten and fourteen. The tuition charges were set as forty dollars a year. The curriculum was typical of the academies of the time—Latin, Greek, French, German, mathematics, geography, history, and elocution.⁹²

On May 2, 1842, the St. Ignatius Literary Institution opened its doors. It had only a skeleton staff and a skeleton student body. Evremond as superior, and Larkin, who was to rule the school from Evremond's withdrawal in July, 1843, till the closing of the institution, were aided by a student Jesuit, or scholastic. The students were seven boys, as large a number as could be expected in the last months of the school year.⁹³

⁸⁸ Murphy to Roothaan, Oct. 10, 1840; WA, Murphy to Dzierszynski, Oct. 14, 1840; Flaget to Roothaan, July 31, 1842; Murphy to Roothaan, Jan. 10, 1842; Chazelle to Roothaan, March 31, 1842.

⁸⁹ Flaget to Roothaan, June ?, July 31, 1842; Larkin to Roothaan, Jan. 4, 1843, Feb. 19, 1844; Flaget to Gilles, March 29, 1845.

⁹⁰ Chazelle to Roothaan, March 31, 1842.

⁹¹ FA, "Diary," Jan. 30, 1842. Legouais to Roothaan, March 6, 1842.

⁹² Legouais to Roothaan, April 11, 1842. Garraghan, *Jesuits of the Middle United States*, III, 256, notes a newspaper account of the school which declares that the institution also featured a preparatory class for boys under ten, whose fees were \$30 a year; Larkin to Roothaan, Jan. 4, 1843.

⁹³ FA, "Diary," May 2, 1842; Evremond to Roothaan, July 14, 1842.

Gradually the staff and the enrollment increased. In its last year, the school was manned by three priests, five scholastics and two brothers. At the end of 1842, the number of pupils had mounted to twenty-nine. Six months later, there were thirty-eight. In February 1844, the registration was seventy-two, and in February 1845, eighty. While the increase in the registration must have been gratifying to the Fathers, they were not altogether happy about the student body. An appreciable number of the boys were not Catholics. Other students could not afford to pay the tuition charges; consequently the income of the school was uncertain and insufficient.⁹⁴

Yet it would appear that the Louisville school was to have a successful future. The Fathers had to move the school from its original quarters to a larger house in the city, and they began to plan the construction of a suitable school building.⁹⁵ Then from an unexpected quarter they ran into obstacles which shortly forced them to close the Literary Institution. These were precisely the men who had compelled the Jesuits to open the school, Bishops Flaget and Chabrat.

In 1843, Flaget celebrated his eightieth birthday. In their letters to Rome, the Kentucky Jesuits frequently noted that the pious man was old, feeble and forgetful, he was incapable of conducting business, and he was completely dominated by his coadjutor, who was the *de facto* head of the diocese.⁹⁶ It was an open secret in ecclesiastical circles that Bishop Guy Chabrat had no use for the Jesuits. Indeed, he would declare to all who would listen that it was an evil day for the Church in Kentucky when the Society of Jesus entered that State.⁹⁷

A major bone of contention between the Louisville Jesuits and the bishops was St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, the original cause of the Jesuits' coming. The college was the apple of Flaget's eye. The old bishop clung obstinately to the idea that it would flourish if only the Jesuits would take charge. He never gave up the hope that they would one day reverse their continual refusals to accept the gift of St. Joseph's.

For Flaget's offers of the college, and the Jesuits' refusals, be-

⁹⁴ *Catalogus Provinciae Franciae, 1846*, 41; Evremond to Roothaan, Jan. 2-3, 1843; Evremond to Roothaan, July 24, 1843; Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 19, 1844; Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 13, 1845; Evremond to Roothaan, Jan. 2-3, 1843; Larkin to Roothaan, Jan. 4, 1843.

⁹⁵ FA, "Diary," Aug. 31, 1843.

⁹⁶ Murphy to Roothaan, April 3, 1845; Boulanger to Roothaan, Nov. 9, 1845, Feb. 6, 1846.

⁹⁷ Evremond to Roothaan, July 24, 1843; Hus to Roothaan, Feb. 8, 1846.

came almost annual affairs. The bishop offered St. Joseph's to the Society of 1834, 1835, 1838, 1839, 1842, 1843, and 1844,⁹⁸ Later in 1844, St. Joseph's was again offered to the Jesuits, this time not directly by the bishop, but by a group of lay Catholics of Bardstown.⁹⁹ These men were almost as persistent at Flaget himself. Refused by the local Jesuit superior, they sent petitions directly to the Provincial in Paris and the General in Rome. Nor did they accept the first refusal from these quarters; they sent a second petition after the first.¹⁰⁰ Flaget himself returned to the charge in 1845.¹⁰¹ One of the reasons which moved the General to send a Visitor to the Kentucky Mission was to refuse, once and for all and finally, the college of St. Joseph's.¹⁰²

Shortly after the Jesuits had begun their school in Louisville at his own insistence, the old bishop conceived the idea that the St. Ignatius Literary Institution was a threat to his beloved St. Joseph's. He feared that when it became a boarding college, the Louisville school would draw students away from the Bardstown college. The more successful the Louisville school became, and the more Jesuits it consequently required, the less likely it was that the Society would have men to spare to accept St. Joseph's. Fearful for the school of his predilection, the octogenarian bishop began openly to oppose the Louisville school. Indeed, he explicitly declared his enmity to the Jesuit superior of the school.¹⁰³ So well known were his feelings that a rumor to the effect that Flaget intended to suppress the Literary Institution gained credence, and a group of Louisville laymen actually approached the bishop with a petition that he would not harm the school.¹⁰⁴

In spite of the known hostility of Flaget, the Jesuits took steps to develop the school. Land was purchased as a permanent campus, and the construction of the new school building was actually be-

⁹⁸ Flaget to Roothaan, Jan. 5, 1834; Flaget to Kohlmann, April 21, 1835; FA, "Diary," Jan. 10, 1835; Flaget to Roothaan, April 21, July 21, 1838; ARSI, "Note sur l'établissement"; Murphy to Roothaan, Jan. 10, 1842; Flaget to Roothaan, June ?, July 31, 1842; Legouais to Roothaan, Jan. 3, 1843; Petit to Roothaan, Jan. 6, 1843; Murphy to Roothaan, Jan. 10, 1843; Murphy to Roothaan, Feb. 27, 1844.

⁹⁹ FA, "Diary," May 11, 1844.

¹⁰⁰ Petitioners of Bardstown to Roothaan, Aug. 28, 1844; Petitioners to Roothaan, Dec. 1, 1844.

¹⁰¹ Flaget to Gilles, March 29, 1845.

¹⁰² Boulanger to Roothaan, June 28, 1845. Jesuits of the Missouri Province finally accepted St. Joseph's from Flaget in 1848, after Chabrat had left the country. In 1868, these Jesuits withdrew from Kentucky.

¹⁰³ Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 19, 1844.

¹⁰⁴ Murphy to Roothaan, Dec. 30, 1844.

gun.¹⁰⁵ To help meet the heavy expenses, a public subscription was opened. Though the appeal for contributions was initially successful, this source of financial aid abruptly dried up.¹⁰⁶ Neither Flaget nor Chabrat would sponsor the appeal. Flaget refused even to discuss the matter.¹⁰⁷ Chabrat went much further. The General was informed that, soon after the Jesuits opened their subscription lists, the coadjutor bishop launched a campaign to collect funds for the erection of a cathedral. He announced his appeal in a sermon from the pulpit of the pro-cathedral, during the course of which he practically told the Catholics of Louisville not to contribute to the Jesuit cause. The Fathers had no choice but to close their subscription lists. As soon as the coadjutor heard that the Jesuits had ended their drive, he stopped his own.¹⁰⁸

Not only did Chabrat effectively block local financial aid to the Jesuits, but it appears that he did his best to cut off subsidies from Europe. The Kentucky Jesuits heard that the coadjutor had reported to the French Society of the Propagation of the Faith that the Society of Jesus in Kentucky was wealthy, needed no financial assistance, and was not doing any worth-while work.¹⁰⁹

Under these circumstances, it was obviously impossible for the Jesuits to remain in Louisville. On the first day of 1846, the bishops were notified that the Society of Jesus was closing its school and withdrawing from the city. The citizens of the town petitioned the fathers to remain, and offered to subscribe additional sums to the school. The money already contributed was returned to the donors. Before the end of February, without the slightest regret expressed by the bishops, the Jesuit community had withdrawn from Louisville.¹¹⁰

This withdrawal was but the first step in the abandonment of Kentucky by the Jesuits. A desire to leave the State had been growing among the Fathers there in the 1840's. This development was noticed by the Provincial of France, Clement Boulanger, who touched upon this theme in a number of letters to John Roothaan.

¹⁰⁵ Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 13, 1845; Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846.

¹⁰⁶ Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 13, 1845; Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 22, 1846.

¹⁰⁷ Murphy to Roothaan, April 3, 1845.

¹⁰⁸ Hus to Roothaan, Feb. 8, 1846; Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 22, 1846.

¹⁰⁹ Driscoll to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846.

¹¹⁰ Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Legouais to Roothaan, Feb. 5, 1846; Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 22, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Hus to Roothaan, Feb. 8, 1846; Legouais to Roothaan, Feb. 5, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, March 1, 1846.

The reasons why the Jesuits wanted to get out of Kentucky, the Provincial informed the General, were many. They felt they were confined in a blind alley. They were frustrated by the lack of opportunities for worth-while work. There was no promising field of labor open to them in nearby states. Their debts were increasing. There were no vocations from native Catholics. The Louisville school had, at most, a questionable future. The major college of St. Mary's was buried in the backwoods, far even from a main road. It could not hope to develop; indeed, its registration was declining; and the Society of Jesus was the object of increasing hostility from the episcopal residence in Louisville. Under the circumstances, it would appear proper that the General should send to the Kentucky mission a Visitor with full powers to dispose of the mission as seemed best. Boulanger suggested such a move, and the Kentucky Fathers expected it.¹¹¹

In the spring of 1845, on the completion of his term of office as provincial, Boulanger himself was appointed to visit Kentucky by the General. Together with his socius, John Baptist Hus, Boulanger left Paris in April, 1845, and arrived at St. Mary's on June 11, 1845.¹¹²

Even before his coming to Kentucky, Boulanger was of the opinion that it might be best if the Society withdrew completely from that State. For a new prospect had been opened before the French Jesuits in America, a field which would require their full manpower in the United States. Bishop John Hughes of New York offered to them a promising field of labor in his diocese. Chief among the works offered was the bishop's college of St. John in the little village of Fordham, a few miles north of New York City. While he was still provincial of France, Boulanger had considered the possibility of withdrawing men from Kentucky to staff New York.¹¹³

What he saw in Kentucky hardened the Visitor's inclination into determination. When he had inspected the mission, he informed Roothaan that it was his considered judgment that the Kentucky Mission should be liquidated. He found the Jesuit position in Kentucky untenable due to episcopal opposition. He agreed with

¹¹¹ Murphy to Roothaan, Feb. 27, 1844; Boulanger to Roothaan, March 2, Oct. 11, 1843, Feb. 2, April 13, 1844; Boulanger to Roothaan, March 2, Oct. 11, 1843, Feb. 2, 1844; Evremond to Roothaan, Oct. 14, 1844; Murphy to Roothaan, Dec. 30, 1844.

¹¹² Boulanger to Roothaan, April 11, and June 14, 1845.

¹¹³ Boulanger to Roothaan, Sept. 6, 1843.

the Kentucky Fathers that the schools at Louisville and St. Mary's were not worth the men and the money they consumed. All of the men in Kentucky would be required to staff the establishments which the Society would undertake in New York, for Boulanger had visited New York and signed an agreement with Bishop Hughes before the end of 1845.¹¹⁴

Consequently, a month after the bishops had been told that the Jesuits were withdrawing from Louisville, and before that movement had been completed, Boulanger informed Bishop Flaget that the Society of Jesus was withdrawing from his diocese.¹¹⁵ He told the bishop, so Boulanger informed Roothaan, that the Jesuits would transfer the title of St. Mary's to the diocesan authorities; they hoped that they would receive some recompense for the large sums of money they had expended at St. Mary's for improvement and construction.¹¹⁶

Flaget offered no objections to the closing of the Jesuit college at St. Mary's. Obviously hoping that the fathers would continue to operate the school as a feeder for St. Joseph's College, he expressed the desire that the fathers remain to staff the preparatory department. Boulanger rejected the request.¹¹⁷

The news of the imminent departure of the Jesuits soon spread abroad. The bishops publicly expressed their regrets over the removal. Some of the rather harassed Jesuits attributed the bishops' declarations to fear of public opinion rather than to any real sorrow.¹¹⁸ They took umbrage at the fact that, even before Flaget's request that the Jesuits remain at St. Mary's reached them, Chabrat had practically concluded negotiations with another religious order to replace them at the school.¹¹⁹ Nor were their feelings soothed by the report that the coadjutor, on hearing that the Jesuits might remain, expressed his dissatisfaction and his fears that just such a develop-

¹¹⁴ Boulanger to Roothaan, Sept. 21, Oct. 20, 1845; Boulanger to Roothaan, Nov. 9, 1845; Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Legouais to Roothaan, Feb. 5, 1846; Driscoll to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Hus to Roothaan, Feb. 8, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, Nov. 25, Dec. 17, 1845.

¹¹⁵ Boulanger to Flaget, Feb. ?, 1846.

¹¹⁶ Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846.

¹¹⁷ Boulanger to Flaget, Feb. 15, and Feb. 26, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, March 1, 1846.

¹¹⁸ Driscoll to Roothaan, March 7, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, April 10, 1846.

¹¹⁹ Boulanger to Flaget, April 1, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, April 27, 1846.

ment might take place.¹²⁰ Nor were relations ameliorated when, without consultation or even forewarning, the Jesuits were presented, for their signature, a deed of sale for St. Mary's College at a purely nominal sum.¹²¹ From the college they salvaged only some laboratory equipment, their books and their chalices.¹²²

In this rather unpleasant atmosphere, the Jesuits continued their preparations for departure. In mid-February the school in Louisville had been closed, the foundation of the new college building and the land on which it stood sold, and the members of the Louisville community moved to St. Mary's. By March 1, except for Larkin who remained behind to wind up affairs, the Jesuits had completed their removal from the see city.¹²³

At St. Mary's, the land purchased by Chazelle was sold; the money received from this sale was enough to pay off the debts remaining on the college.¹²⁴ The parents of the students were informed that the Jesuits would conduct classes only till the close of the school year. But while these preparations for departure went on, there arrived from Paris a letter which gave Boulanger pause. Ambrose Rubillon, who had succeeded Boulanger as Provincial to France, informed the Visitor that the General felt uneasy about the total abandonment of Kentucky, and urged Boulanger to take steps to preserve at least part of the Kentucky mission.¹²⁵

Believing that matters had progressed too far to be reversed, Boulanger suggested to the fathers in Kentucky that they send their considered judgment on the withdrawal to the General in Rome. This they did, unanimously approving the Visitor's decision to abandon the mission.¹²⁶ Their letters crossed in the mails one from Roothaan himself, written on January 15, 1846, but delivered only at the beginning of March, in which the General refused his approval to the complete abandonment of Kentucky.¹²⁷ Again, the Visitor asked the Kentucky fathers to write to the General; and again they

¹²⁰ Boulanger to Roothaan, April 10, May 24, 1846.

¹²¹ Boulanger to Roothaan, March 27, April 10, 1846.

¹²² Boulanger to Roothaan, April 10, 1846.

¹²³ Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, March 1, 1846.

¹²⁴ Boulanger to Roothaan, Nov. 9, 1845; Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846.

¹²⁵ Rubillon to Roothaan, Dec. 31, 1845.

¹²⁶ Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Legouais to Roothaan, Feb. 5, 1846; Driscoll to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Hus to Roothaan, Feb. 8, 1846.

¹²⁷ Boulanger to Roothaan, Sept. 3, 1846.

gave their approval to the decision which had been made.¹²⁸ When the General noted the unanimous vote of the fathers on the scene for the abandonment of Kentucky, and was informed that the Kentucky bishops took no steps to keep the Society in the State, he gave his approval to the ending of the mission.¹²⁹

Indeed, no objection to the departure of the Jesuits was made by the bishops.¹³⁰ Yet Chabrat did not let slip the opportunity to write to France his version of events; his account clearly did not present the Jesuit desertion of Kentucky in too favorable a light. For on his return to France early in 1846, Hus was compelled to write the Jesuit version of the story and send copies to the Nuncio in Paris and the offices of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith.¹³¹

Public opinion laid the onus for the withdrawal of the Jesuits from Kentucky on the shoulders of Bishop Chabrat.¹³² The vehemence and depth of public censure may have been the cause which prompted the coadjutor to submit his resignation to the Holy See and also to the forthcoming Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore.¹³³ Boulanger reported, however, that Chabrat had arranged matters so that his resignation would not be accepted, and he returned happily from Baltimore, obviously feeling that the rejection of his resignation had justified all his actions.¹³⁴ Shortly after the Jesuits left Kentucky, Chabrat's resignation, ostensibly because of his failing eyesight, was to be accepted. He lived for many years in retirement in France.

As the summer of 1846 began, the exodus of the Jesuits from Kentucky got under way. Murphy and Thébaud left in April to prepare the way at Fordham for the arrival of the main contingent.¹³⁵ Shortly after the school year ended in July, the Jesuits, in parties of five or six, took their departure from the scene of their labors in

¹²⁸ Boulanger to Roothaan, March 7, 1846; Thébaud to Roothaan, March 5, 1846; Driscoll to Roothaan, March 7, 1846; Ryan to Roothaan, March 8, 1846.

¹²⁹ Hus to Roothaan, April 27, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, May 24, Sept. 3, 1846.

¹³⁰ Thébaud to Roothaan, May 15, 1846.

¹³¹ Hus to Roothaan, April 27, 1846.

¹³² Benjamin J. Webb, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, Louisville, 1884, 398; Cassidy, *Catholic College Foundations*, 30; Hill, "Reminiscences of St. Mary's," 37. It is the tendency of published secondary works to exculpate Chabrat of the charge.

¹³³ Legouais to Roothaan, March 9, 1846.

¹³⁴ Boulanger to Roothaan, May 24, June 7, 1846.

¹³⁵ Thébaud to Roothaan, May 15, 1846.

Kentucky.¹³⁶ Boulanger himself was one of a group who reached Fordham on August 1.¹³⁷ By that time, save for two priests who remained to wind up affairs, all the Jesuits were out of the blue-grass State. The Kentucky Mission of the Province of France was at an end.

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¹³⁶ Boulanger to Roothaan, June 7, 1846.

¹³⁷ Boulanger to Roothaan, Aug. 1, 1846.

Book Review

So Noble a Captain. The Life and Times of Ferdinand Magellan. By Charles McKew Parr. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1953. Pp. xv, 423. Illustrated. \$6.

Magellan has come down to us as one of the great names in the history of maritime exploration, but to those who have studied his career in some detail there have been and there will be many unanswered questions about his activities. The man who captained the first expedition to circumnavigate the globe had his Boswell in Antonio Francesco Pigafetta and since the time of Pigafetta, 1525, this "So noble a captain" has had a succession of biographers. The latest of these is Charles McKew Parr, industrialist, business executive, and Connecticut legislator, whose background, from his earlier days at West Point through his governmental services during World War II at Washington and in Spain as a diplomatic agent, reveals his vast energy. During the past ten years he has made the time to gather a remarkable store of materials for this defense of the slighted and maligned character of Magellan and he presents his materials in a graceful, colorful and vigorous style.

Structurally *So Noble a Captain* is divided into three parts and these total twenty chapters, introduced by thirty pages on "Portugal and the Magellans." The introduction indicates the attitude and the approach of Mr. Parr. His attitude is aggressively to adopt one of the authorities or sources for his narrative without too much concern about other parties to controversies, choosing what he considers the most probable of the opinions. His approach is biographical, that is, within his biography of Magellan he presents a series of biographical sketches of persons around whom he weaves history of the time. In these procedures the historian naturally comes upon some jarring interpretations and is somewhat at a loss for verifications, since there are no footnotes. For instance, the foundation of the Portuguese empire is attributed to Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt, rather than to John of Avis, her royal consort, and the conquest of Ceuta along with Henry the Navigator's activities in Africa are attributed to Philippa. Prince Henry, and later Columbus, is said to be a monk.

Part I describes, in the absence of much data about Magellan, the times in which the hero was born, raised, made a page in the court in 1492, and disliked at the age of twelve by King Manuel. The descriptions of ships, seas, sailors, trade, and court intrigues, are excellent and prepare the way for Magellan's trip south along Africa and around the Cape of Good Hope to India with Francisco de Almeida. The very colorful and highly adventurous times of the conquest of India between 1505 and 1513 are well told, even though from the viewpoint of Magellan rather than that of the more outstanding conquerors and tradesmen. After eight years in the Orient Magellan was ordered home—wounded, practically penniless, and generally not wanted in Lisbon.

"Princes, Prelates, and Profits," is the title of Part II. King Manuel's hatred of Magellan is dramatically portrayed; Jakob Fugger, the banker of the empire and the kingmaker, is described in a chapter; his agent, Cristobal De Haro, is worthy of the next chapter; the description of "Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop, Bureaucrat and Businessman," is a devastating attack on the man to whom Mr. Parr attributes all such powers and philosophies of evil as would make a Richelieu insignificant, and the attack is sustained through future pages and even into an appendix. Fonseca is credited with making Charles ruler of Spain, with making and breaking Columbus, killing Cardinal Ximenes either by a notice of dismissal from the court or by poison, and running the growing Spanish empire to his own enormous gain. Fugger, de Haro, the king, all in the political game of Fonseca, were the key men of the great expedition of Magellan.

The third part is the narrative of Magellan's voyage with all its drama and heartbreak. The descriptions of seafaring in the sixteenth century are again very good. In fact, the book has great entertainment as well as informational value. The bibliography is selective and a number of appendices add a quota of data. The index is done with exceptional care. It may be said that there are digressions and because of these an unnecessary delay in the action of the drama, but these are amply explained by the coverage in the title, "life and times." Uninterested readers may pass them over and forget them but they cannot forget the character of Magellan as drawn so understandingly by Mr. Parr.

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Notes and Comments

An excellent study of one of the foremost historians of colonial Mexico has been made by Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., who is currently doing research in the archives of Rome. It was published in the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, Volume XXII, Jan.-June., 1953, under the title: "Francisco Javier Alegre, Historian of the Jesuits in New Spain (1729-1788)." Father Burrus begins the seventy pages of his study with a biographical sketch of Alegre, then turns to the key sources which Alegre used in writing his *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España* and his *Memorias*. Next is a collection of opinions of other historians regarding the value of Alegre, all of whom rank him as an outstanding authority and scholar. These pages are followed by a section on the "historical principles observed by Alegre," very clear proof of his objectivity and thoroughness. After this Father Burrus devotes a number of pages to tracing the exact sources for the *Historia* and concludes with a index of all the authorities cited in its composition. An appendix is a chronological list of the forty-one titles under Alegre's authorship, published and in manuscript. Some selected documents of a pertinent nature conclude the article.

In this same volume of the *Archivum Historicum* there are a number of articles, commentaries on St. Francis Xavier and upon the Japanese, Chinese, Indian, Indonesian, Philippine, Brazilian, and Spanish American missions, all in commemoration of the quatri-centennial of the death of Xavier in 1552. Twenty scholars have contributed the studies in Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, German, Chinese, and English. Of particular interest are C. R. Barker's edition of Galiote Pereira's *Tratado* under the title of "A Portuguese Account of South China in 1549-1552," and the most unusual text of an opera in Chinese, presented from 1608 to 1610, in the article "La Passione di Gesù Cristo in un'Opera Cinese del 1608-1610," by Pasquale M. D'Elia. The whole volume of the *Archivum* runs to 547 pages filled with documents, illustrations, and bibliographies.

* * * *

The entire August, 1953, number of *The Palimpsest*, published by The State Historical Society of Iowa, is given to the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Iowa. The six articles are by Right

Reverend M. M. Hoffman, author of *The Church Founders of the Northwest*, and they are entitled: "Iowa's Early Catholic History," "The First Bishop of Iowa, 1837-1858," "Bishop Smyth, 1858-1865," "The Diocesan Pattern in Iowa," "Catholic Institutions," and "Iowa Catholicism Today." A number of good illustrations and a cover map add to the attractiveness of the magazine.

* * * *

Most Reverend Anthony J. Schuler, S.J., D.D., First Bishop of El Paso, And Some Catholic Activities in the Diocese Between 1915-1942, by Sister M. Lilliana Owens, S.L., Ph.D., has been published by the Revista Catolica Press, El Paso, Texas, 1953. This is another of the books whose purpose would be rather mystifying if the author had not stated it in a Foreword, to-wit: "The present study does not pretend to cover completely the period under study much less to evaluate with any historical finality the person of Bishop A. J. Schuler, S.J., nor the Catholic Activities mentioned. It is rather an appreciation of the good accomplished by Bishop Schuler during his incumbency; and the history of the institutions and persons connected, even remotely, with the Catholic activities in El Paso, . . . is given as a tribute to them. . . ."

* * * *

Puritan Sage, Collected Writings of Jonathan Edwards, edited by Vergilius Ferm, is this month being published by Library Publishers, New York, as a commemorative volume marking the 250th anniversary of the birth of Edwards. Several of the twenty-seven treatises presented are on natural sciences and philosophy, but the majority of them are theological expositions. The editor's introduction has some biographical data, but is primarily an appreciative evaluation of the significance of Edwards as an American pioneer in theological education and psychology. The volume with the appendices runs to six-hundred forty pages and is listed at seven fifty.

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MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXXV

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Errata: Page 65, line 18, delete the "not" and read: "of California and is supposed to have discovered (what here—)"

Page 66, line 4, delete the "not" ending the line and read: "But it does make California a peninsula."



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